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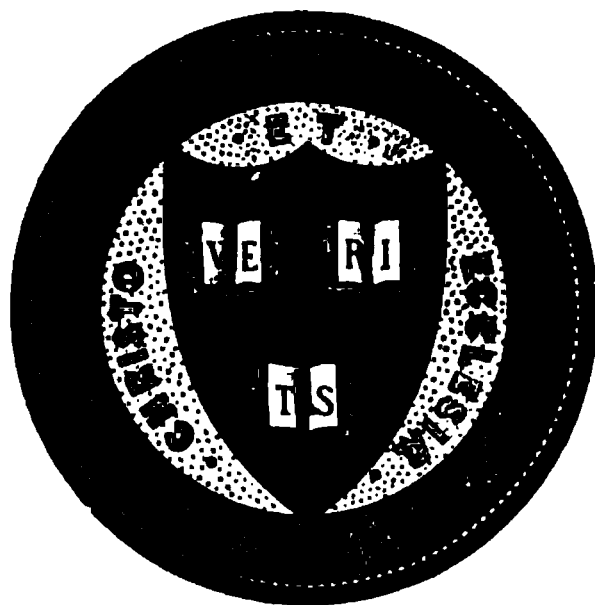
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Handbooks of
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A HANDBOOK
OF
GREEK SCULPTURE



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A HANDBOOK
OF
GREEK SCULPTURE

Pt. I.

BY

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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH there are several histories of Greek sculpture, the need of a handbook on a smaller scale and of a somewhat different scope is, I believe, generally felt. What is wanted is a general outline of our present knowledge of Greek sculpture, distinguishing as clearly as possible the different schools and periods, and giving typical instances to show the development of each. Accordingly, I have not in the present work made any attempt at a complete or exhaustive treatment of the subject, but have selected from the great accumulation of available examples only such as seem most useful in illustration. I have in particular attempted to confine myself to such facts or theories as have already met with general acceptance among archaeologists, or such as seem to rest upon evidence that cannot easily be shaken by new discoveries or future controversy. This principle has precluded the discussion of many interesting problems that are still under dispute; but in the case of questions which, though undecided, are of too vital issue for the history of sculpture to be altogether ignored, I have endeavoured to state as briefly as possible the different tenable views, and to base no further inferences upon the acceptance of any of them. In this way the student will be provided with a framework into which he can easily fit all the knowledge that he may acquire from subsequent reading or observation; and at

the same time he will not find that he has anything to unlearn when he becomes acquainted with more facts or newer theories.

Were the writer of such a book as this to cite all the authorities who have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the work he has produced, his preface and notes would be a mere patchwork of references and quotations. I have endeavoured as far as possible to give my own impressions directly, as derived both from literary authorities and from the monuments themselves, and have tried as a general rule to avoid direct quotation from modern writers. Wherever I have consciously borrowed an original view propounded by a predecessor, and not yet adopted as common property, I have made an acknowledgment in the text or in a note ; but a reference of this sort may have been accidentally omitted in some instances where its insertion would have been just or courteous, and I can only trust that in such a case those who have most right to complain will also be most disposed to leniency by their own experience of the difficulties of a task that must partake to a great extent of the nature of a compilation.

But a more general acknowledgment is due at once to such works as Professor von Brunn's *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* and his *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, Professor Overbeck's *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, Mr. A. S. Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, Mrs. Mitchell's *History of Ancient Sculpture*, and M. Collignon's *Histoire de la sculpture grecque*. Any one who now writes on Greek sculpture must owe to some or all of these the foundation of his knowledge. If I do not constantly refer to them, it is only because their accessibility and their systematic treatment of the subject make it easy for the student to consult them upon any matter which he wishes to follow out in more detail than is allowed by the scope of a handbook. The catalogues of the various museums in which the remains of

Greek sculpture are now preserved also offer invaluable assistance to the student for reference, as well as for use in the galleries—an assistance which must be acknowledged by all who write upon the subject; above all must be mentioned Wolters' edition of Friederich's *Bausteine*, the catalogue of the splendid collection of casts at Berlin.

Those who are acquainted with the results of recent excavation will notice one conspicuous omission in the attempt to bring this book up to the level of our present knowledge of Greek sculpture. The valuable discoveries of the French at Delphi have not been included. The reason for this omission is partly that without illustrations it would be impossible to give any adequate notion of so remarkable a series of sculptures, and partly that, pending the publication of the Delphic discoveries by those to whom they are due, it would be rash to include them in a handbook like this. The reliefs of the Treasury of the Athenians and of the Treasury of the Siphnians will doubtless take their place in due time among the cardinal monuments of Greek sculpture; but especially in the latter case the problems to be solved are so difficult and so complicated that agreement about them is hardly to be expected until they have become more widely known and have been more thoroughly discussed. It has therefore seemed wiser to exclude them altogether from the present volume; perhaps it may be possible to repair the omission before the whole work is complete.

Finally, I have the pleasant duty of thanking many friends for their help and advice at various stages in the writing of this handbook; Mr. Richard Norton has made many useful criticisms of the earlier portion, and I wish especially to thank my brother, Professor Percy Gardner of Oxford, not only for reading the proofs and making many suggestions which either have been incorporated in the text or have led to its modifica

tion, but also for his help and encouragement throughout the work.

The present volume contains the introduction and the history of Greek sculpture down to the time of Phidias. The second part will comprise the rest of Chapter III. (the fifth century), Chapter IV. (the fourth century), Chapter V. (Hellenistic sculpture), Chapter VI. (Graeco-Roman sculpture), and full indices to the whole work. It is hoped that the rest of the handbook will be ready to appear in the course of the coming year.

October 1895.

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COMMONEST ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

<i>S. Q.</i>	Overbeck, <i>Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen.</i>
<i>B. D.</i>	. . . .	Brunn-Bruckmann, <i>Denkmäler der Griechischen und Römische Münch Skulptur.</i>
<i>C. I. G.</i>	. . . .	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Boeckh).
<i>C. I. A.</i>	. . . .	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.</i>
<i>I. G. A.</i>	. . . .	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae</i> (Roehl).
<i>Loewy</i>	. . . .	Loewy, <i>Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer.</i>
<i>Ann. Inst.</i>	. . . .	<i>Annali dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica,</i> Rome.
<i>Mon. Inst.</i>	. . . .	<i>Monumenti Inediti dell' Istituto di Correspondenza</i> <i>Archeologica,</i> Rome.
<i>A. Z.</i>	. . . .	<i>Archäologische Zeitung,</i> Berlin.
<i>Mittheil. Ath.</i>	. . . .	<i>Mittheilungen des K. deutschen archäologischen Instituts,</i> Athens.
<i>Mittheil. Rom.</i>	. . . .	<i>Mittheilungen des K. deutschen archäologischen Instituts,</i> Rome.
<i>Jahrb.</i>	. . . .	<i>Jahrbuch des K. deutschen archäologischen Instituts,</i> Berlin.
<i>B. C. H.</i>	. . . .	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique,</i> Athens.
<i>J. H. S.</i>	. . . .	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies,</i> London.
<i>Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.</i>	. . . .	<i>Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική,</i> Athens.
<i>Ἀρχ. Δελτίον</i>	. . . .	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον,</i> Athens.

INTRODUCTION

(a) *Sources of our Knowledge—Literature and Monuments*

THE sources from which we derive our knowledge of Greek sculpture and of its history fall naturally into two classes: one of these is *literary*, and may be sought in the writings that have been preserved to us from classical times; the other is *monumental*, and is to be found in extant works of sculpture. For the first we must go to libraries, for the second to museums. An intelligent combination of the two, and a correct appreciation of their varying relations, is a necessary foundation for any scientific study of the history of Greek sculpture. And each class is still further complicated in itself by the indirect nature of the evidence with which we have to deal, and the difficulty of ascertaining the exact relation between the information we possess and the ultimate fact which it is our desire to ascertain.

1. *Literary Sources*.¹—These we may divide into (a) *direct*, and (b) *indirect*.

(a) *Direct* literary sources for the history of sculpture in Greece may be divided into three classes, according as they consist of *theoretical*, *historical*, or *descriptive* works.²

¹ These are collected in Overbeck's invaluable *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*. I assume this to be in the hands of the student throughout, and so do not refer to it in each particular instance. See also H. Stuart Jones's *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture, Selections*, which contains the most important passages, with a translation and commentary.

² See Ulrichs, *Ueber griechische Kunstschriftsteller*; Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*; Furtwängler, *Die Quellen des Plinius für der Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, etc. H. Stuart Jones, in the preface to the work above mentioned, gives a clear summary of the results of recent investigation.

Theoretical works upon the principles of sculpture were written by several of the most distinguished artists of antiquity; but none of these have been preserved to us, and therefore they can hardly rank as direct sources of information. Yet they cannot be entirely ignored even in this aspect; for later compilers have recorded many opinions or statements, often without acknowledgment, which we can trace with more or less certainty to these lost treatises. The first of them was a work by Polyclitus, who, as we are told, taught the proportions of the body, and embodied them in a statue to which, as to his treatise also, he gave the name of "the Canon." Euphranor, who was a sculptor as well as a painter, wrote also upon colouring and proportion. But in the Hellenistic age such treatises became, as we might have expected, much commoner. In sculpture, as in literature, the age of criticism succeeded the age of production. The School of Lysippus, with its academic tendency to the study of the methods and works of earlier masters, would naturally require theoretical and historical treatises on art; and Xenocrates (c. 300 B.C.) appears to have done something to fulfil the need. The Pergamene School also supplied in Antigonus of Carystus (c. 200 B.C.) an artist who wrote about art. These two are cited by Pliny as authorities; and very probably their works commonly served as a basis for the treatises of later writers.

Duris of Samos (c. 300 B.C.) is the first writer whom we know to have written a definitely *historical* treatise, ~~con-~~cerning ~~artists~~, not art. He was a pupil of Theophrastus, and through him many of the personal anecdotes preserved to us about artists have been traced to the Peripatetic philosophers. Pasiteles, who lived in Rome in the first century before our era, and is the most typical example in ancient times of an academic sculptor, wrote five volumes about the most famous works of art in the world; and his work most probably formed a critical and historical treatise which was valuable to later compilers. His contemporary, Varro, the most learned of antiquaries, wrote about art as well as other matters. But of all these authorities we possess little, if any, certain remains; for the facts which they recorded we are dependent almost entirely upon Pliny, who in books xxxiv.-xxxvi. of his *Natural History* gives an account of the history of sculpture in various materials, as well as of painting. His work is

not an original treatise, but professedly a compilation from various earlier writers—most of them those that have just been enumerated.¹

Descriptive treatises are not to be rigidly distinguished from those just referred to; in several cases it might be difficult to classify a particular book under either head exclusively. The work of Polemo (c. 200 B.C.)—also lost—consisted of a description of the dedications that filled all the temples of Greece, and probably served as a mine for the compilers of the *Anthology*, itself a store of information as to works of sculpture. Heliodorus wrote a description of the offerings set up in the Acropolis at Athens, and other writers described the artistic treasures of Delphi. Some of the information supplied by these two authors may perhaps also be contained in the *Description of Greece* written by Pausanias, who travelled in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, while all the shrines of Greece still contained almost intact their innumerable treasures of art. The work of Pausanias is the guide-book of the period; its literary and critical merit is but small, yet its value to us is very great—as great as would be that of Murray's or Baedeker's guide-books to the art student of the future, were all records and collections now extant to be destroyed and scattered, with the exception of a few damaged and isolated remnants of which even the identity had to be rediscovered. The very large proportion of Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* taken up by quotations from Pausanias would alone suffice to show the importance of his work—indeed, were he and Pliny excluded, a scanty pamphlet would contain all that remained of our literary authorities for the history of sculpture.)

Among others who wrote works directly and intentionally descriptive of works of art must be mentioned Callistratus (c. 160 B.C.) and the Philostrati (c. 237 and 250 A.D.), who wrote, as rhetorical exercises, descriptions of imaginary collections of sculpture and painting; but from the nature of their work they are of but little value, except to illustrate what we know from other sources.

A very different position must be assigned to Lucian, who is undoubtedly the most trustworthy art-critic of antiquity. Unfortunately his references to works of art are mostly only incidental. But he was brought up as a sculptor, and retained

¹ See Pliny, bk. i., list of authorities for bks. xxxiv.-xxxvi.

his knowledge and critical faculty, although he preferred literature to sculpture as a pursuit. His judgments therefore offer us a far safer clue to the true nature of any work than the ignorant compilations upon which we are usually dependent. Incidental notices by other critics, such as Quintilian, are also useful, though they perhaps belong rather to the second class of literary authorities; and Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and others, give us a good deal of information about sculpture and sculptors.

(b) *Indirect* references to sculptors and to works of art occur throughout classical literature from Homer down. It would not be profitable to classify these references, which naturally show very great variety. In the case of a people like the Greeks, in whose life so important a place was taken by sculpture, the poet, the historian, and the philosopher were sure to speak frequently of works of art, whether for their own sake or in illustration of other matters. Conscious and direct criticism belongs of course rather to the age of decadence; but without a familiarity with Greek literature, we should not be in a position to form correct judgments as to Greek sculpture either in detail or in its more general aspects.

2. *Monumental Sources*.—The first division of these is in some respects intermediate between literature and monuments—the *inscriptions* which belong to works of sculpture.¹ The most valuable of these are the artists' signatures, which, however, were almost always in earlier times inscribed upon the separate basis, not upon any part of the statue itself; and therefore the cases are very rare in which we possess the actual work and the signature preserved together. But the list of artists' names which we derive from inscriptions is useful for comparison with that which we derive from books; and we find that for the fifth and fourth centuries before our era the two for the most part coincide, though in earlier or later times a large number of the sculptors whose names we find in inscriptions are otherwise unknown to us. Other inscriptions connected with works of art are commoner—especially such as record the purpose or circumstances of the dedication or erection

¹ These have been collected by Hirschfeld, *Tituli Statuariorum Sculptorumque*, and later and more completely by Loewy, *Inscripfen griechischer Bildhauer*. The introduction of this last book should be consulted for information as to these inscriptions and their character, which cannot be treated here.

of any statue. These are invaluable as supplying very often a certain date for works of sculpture, whether the actual statue they refer to has been preserved or not.

Another class of evidence which, though monumental, must yet be classed as external, is that offered by coins, gems, and other minor works of art. These often show us reproductions of well-known works of sculpture, which can sometimes be identified with more or less certainty; thus they enable us either to identify a statue actually preserved, or to learn to some extent the character of one which has been lost. The evidence of coins is particularly valuable in this respect, since the accuracy with which their place and period can be determined often gives certainty to an identification which would otherwise be purely conjectural.

But the monumental evidence for the history of Greek sculpture lies chiefly in the statues and reliefs actually preserved, whether in modern museums and collections or still remaining on the ancient building which they were originally designed to decorate; and some general account of these, and of their relation to the history of sculpture, is necessary for a proper appreciation of their value.

It is difficult for us now to realise the extraordinary artistic wealth which decorated all the shrines of Greece in ancient times. The first desire of the Greeks, as soon as they were capable of producing works of independent sculpture, was to honour their gods by all kinds of statues, dedicated in every temple and precinct. By the time of the Persian Wars these statues must have become very numerous, as we may see from the fragments that were buried after the sack of such a site as the Acropolis at Athens, and have been recovered by recent excavations. The accumulation must have gradually become greater and greater until all Greece had become that vast museum which it appears to be in the description of Pausanias. Every local shrine had statues to show such as would now be among the choicest treasures of any great museum; while great centres of worship, like Olympia or Delphi or the Acropolis at Athens, each possessed such a vast population of statues as would suffice to stock all the museums of Europe many times over with masterpieces more perfect than any that have survived to the present day. The fate of this vast accumulation of treasures is not easy to trace; all did not go the same way; but we may

briefly notice some of the more common methods by which they were scattered and destroyed. Pausanias already gives one indication, by mentioning the gaps left in many places by the depredations of Roman Emperors. Ever since the sack of Corinth, in 146 B.C., Greece had been ransacked for statues to decorate the buildings of Rome, but such were its riches that it was long before this process could make any appreciable difference; at the foundation of Constantinople, again, Rome and Greece alike were plundered to decorate the new capital. The gathering together of the finest masterpieces in Rome and Constantinople was a danger to their existence, but their destruction has still to be explained. The credit of this is commonly given to barbarian invaders; but the ignorant greed of the degenerate natives was probably responsible for even more wanton destruction, whether in the scattered shrines of Greece or in the great centres of civilisation. When bronze and marble had become more precious in themselves than the art that had found in them the means of perpetuating its noblest ideals, the fate of sculpture was sealed. Bronze, not to speak of more precious metals, was ruthlessly melted down; and even marble was burnt to produce mortar—the lime-kilns upon every classical site record the fate of the statues that once peopled it. Under these circumstances what we have to explain is not how most works of sculpture were destroyed, but how any survived. Some few have always remained above ground and visible, and have owed their preservation to some exceptional circumstance—probably to their dedication to some new religious use before the sanctity of the old had failed to protect them: thus the Parthenon long preserved its sculptural decoration by serving first as a church, and afterwards as a mosque; and other buildings have had a similar fate. It appears, too, that many statues now venerated as Christian saints began their existence as deities of a different religion. So, again, the bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome is said to owe its preservation to a fortunate mistake, having been supposed to represent the Christian saint and emperor Constantine. But such cases as this are exceptional. Almost all the statues that fill our museums have at some time been buried, whether by accident or of set purpose, and brought to light again either by chance or by systematic excavation. Thus the Venus of Melos is said to have been found in a subterranean grotto

where she must have been hidden by some ancient worshipper to save her from destruction. For the most part, however, statues were buried by chance amidst the ruins of the buildings in which they once had stood; it is difficult for us to realise the extent to which this took place, so as to fill the soil of Greece and Italy with statues and other works of art. The burial of antiquities, by gradual neglect as well as by violent destruction, is always a puzzle to the excavator, but it undoubtedly took place. The soil of every ancient site is now many feet higher than in early times; and in the accumulated débris the valuable as well as the useless has often been buried. This fact appears most clearly in a dead flat like the Delta of Egypt, where every old inhabited site is marked by a mound varying in height according to the length of the period during which it was occupied. Sometimes, too, the sea or rivers have yielded up treasures once cast into their beds. In particular, the Tiber has given up lately some magnificent bronzes, and it is still believed to contain not only the golden candlestick of Jerusalem, but also many masterpieces of Greek and Roman sculpture.

So far we have been concerned with the way in which statues came to be lost or to be preserved, and how they reached the places in which they were found. Their history subsequent to their discovery is not of so much importance to our present purpose. If the rule now enforced in almost all countries where Greek antiquities are to be discovered had been observed in earlier times, there would have been little more to say. The exportation of antiquities is now either entirely prohibited, or allowed only within strict limits and in the case of articles of secondary importance,¹ so that all statues recently discovered either remain in the place where they were found, or have been carried, at farthest, to the central museum of the country; and in all cases it is easy to ascertain their *provenance*. These regulations are, however, of comparatively recent growth; and the sculpture which we have to study is to be found, not only in Greece and Italy, but scattered throughout the museums of Europe.

Until the end of the last century, when Stuart's drawings of Attic monuments were published, the sculpture that remained in

¹ In the case of sculpture this law can usually be enforced. It is obviously far more difficult to prevent the clandestine export of smaller antiquities.

Greece itself was but little known ; and it was not until the present century that any considerable series of monuments came to be exported from Greece. Before this period the great majority of the extant works of sculpture had been found upon Italian soil, for the most part under circumstances which yielded but little external evidence to help their identification. Many of them are either works of inferior interest, such as were turned out in great numbers to satisfy a commercial demand, or copies of works, well known perhaps in ancient times, but difficult for us now to recognise. Even such as are originals of Greek workmanship had probably been transported in ancient times from the place where they were originally set up ; and thus in almost all cases we are reduced to internal evidence in any attempt to identify them. In most cases such identification, however ingenious, cannot rise beyond the region of probable conjecture, unless the exact description of an ancient writer, or the close resemblance of the reproduction on a coin or other small work of art, enables us to be sure that we have before us the original from which it was derived.

It is otherwise with the works found upon Greek soil. The notices in ancient writers, and, above all, the complete and exact description of Pausanias, have made it possible in many cases to identify with certainty works which have been found by the excavator on the spot where we know them to have stood in ancient times. This is most often the case with the sculpture that adorned a temple, as at Olympia, Athens, and Aegina ; or the statues that stood within it, like the group made by Damophon at Lycosura ; but single dedications, like the Hermes of Praxiteles, have been identified in the same way, and some statues, preserved with their bases like the Victory of Paeonius, are identified by the yet more satisfactory evidence of an inscription.

The statues found in Italy have undergone many vicissitudes ; they have passed from one collection to another, until many of them have found a permanent home in some museum. Several museums possess also great series of works which are paramount in the study of a particular period or school. Thus the British Museum possesses the Elgin marbles from Athens, the Phigalian frieze, the sculptures from Ephesus, and from the Mausoleum ; Munich has the Aegina pediments, and Berlin the sculpture from the great altar at Pergamus ; Naples shows an unrivalled

collection of bronzes from Pompeii and Herculaneum; and Athens, Olympia, and Delphi contain the rich products of recent excavation. Site after site is still yielding new material for our study, and the progress of artistic criticism sometimes adds a new identification among what is already known. But the great series which are already in our museums must always form the foundation upon which the history of Greek sculpture is based.

We have followed the course of events by which some portion of the vast wealth of statuary, which once filled all the shrines of ancient Greece, has come to be preserved in the museums of modern Europe. We are thus in a better position for rightly appreciating the relation of extant works to the history of sculpture in Greece; it is clear, for instance, that a bronze work is, from the intrinsic value of the material of which it is composed, far less likely than a marble work to survive the vicissitudes which all alike have undergone. Thus we are prepared for the very great preponderance of sculpture in marble which we find in all modern museums, and shall not be led to infer that there was a similar preponderance of marble over bronze in ancient Greece.

If we possessed all the ancient works that have come to light exactly in the state in which they first emerged from the ground, we could now at once proceed to their classification; but unfortunately this is not the case. We have another process to reckon with first, that of restoration. Until within quite recent years, the first thing to be done, upon the discovery of any portion of an ancient statue which seemed considerable enough to be worth preserving at all, was to hand it over to a restorer. Many excellent sculptors, from Michael Angelo to Thorwaldsen, have undertaken this work. But though the result may in many cases be of high artistic value, from the point of view of the student of art history the process is in all cases equally disastrous. Had the restorer been content with restoring the missing parts, however erroneous were the impression produced on the untrained observer, it would still have been possible for the student to distinguish carefully what was new from what was old, and to use the latter only for his purposes. But restoration unfortunately did not content itself with this; the modern sculptor has in almost all cases worked over the whole surface of the old marble to make it uniform in style and appearance with his own

additions, and thus has often entirely destroyed the surface modelling of the original.¹ It is to the lasting glory of Canova that he probably saved the Elgin marbles from a fate like this, by not only refusing to restore them himself, but also protesting against any restoration of such works; and this excellent example has gradually prevailed, so that no ancient work would now be restored in any first-rate museum. To restore a cast, or even the original in plaster, without cutting away its fractures, is of course harmless and often useful, and this plan is sometimes adopted. The student must then, in dealing with any work discovered before the present century, first discover how much of the statue is ancient; and then, if possible, allow for the surface working to which even that ancient portion has been subjected, before he proceeds to quote it for any scientific purpose.

Assuming this to be done, we must next proceed to classify extant works according to their relation to the history of ancient sculpture. From this point of view we may divide all works of sculpture into three classes—(1) *originals*, (2) *copies*, (3) *imitations*.

(1) *Originals* may be defined as works which were actually made by the hand or under the immediate direction of the sculptor to whom they are to be assigned. But in this very definition is implied a distinction which must not be ignored. It is clear that we can only judge of a sculptor's work at its best from an independent work of art, made in and for itself in his studio; from such a statue alone is it possible to appreciate the excellence of his technique, and in such alone can we see the direct expression of his idea and the authentic product of his genius. Works like these are of the rarest, as we might expect. The Hermes of Praxiteles is the best example which we possess of an original statue direct from the hand of one of the great masters of antiquity. It is possible that there may be other instances in some of our museums, but in no other case is the evidence so convincing; and a word of warning is needed against many rash identifications of this sort that have been made with more or less

¹ Thorwaldsen, in the case of the Aegina marbles, worked over the surface of the restored portions to make them uniform with the ancient parts, even in the appearance of corrosion, etc.—a proceeding equally confusing to the student, though of course not equally reprehensible.

probability. There are, however, many other works which, without having any so direct personal connection with a known sculptor, have yet a claim to be called original. Foremost among these are architectural sculptures, or other more or less decorative works designed upon so large a scale that it was clearly impossible for the sculptor to execute them entirely with his own hand: a good instance is supplied by the heads from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which, as we are told, was the work of Scopas; and the sculptures from the Parthenon, which were at least a part of the works executed under the supervision of Phidias, although we have no direct evidence that he was personally responsible even for their design. Then again we possess numerous works which certainly, or almost certainly, were produced at the time when the style and type they represent were originated or were prevalent in art, although the individual sculptor who made them may be unknown to us, and may even have been of no note among his contemporaries. Such works are certainly to be regarded as originals; they were actually made by the school, and at the time to which we must assign them in any classification; and thus in many ways they afford us more trustworthy evidence as to style than later copies of well-known works of the same school or period. At the same time they show us how far the excellence of the masters had penetrated among their pupils and followers, and even among the artisans and handicraftsmen of their time. The Attic tomb-stones afford good examples of this kind. We have no reason to suppose that any of the extant specimens were executed by sculptors of eminence, yet they afford us a very clear notion of the general efficiency of the art of sculpture in Athens at the time when they were made; and in them we are at least free from any danger of anachronism of style or subject such as a later copy may always have introduced into an earlier design.

(2) *Copies* must evidently be used with the greatest circumspection as evidence for the history of art. In dealing with them we have two distinct elements to discriminate and to estimate—the work of the original artist and the work of the copyist. And it is not until we have carefully eliminated all that has been introduced by the later copyist, that we are in a position to make use of what is left as evidence for the art of the sculptor to whom the original is to be assigned. This fact

must be insisted on, because copies form the great majority of the statues preserved in almost all European museums—especially those of Italy; upon them our knowledge of the works of most of the best known artists of antiquity is based; and although in more recent years the discovery of many original works in Greece and elsewhere has greatly altered the methods and results of criticism, especially for the earlier periods, we shall probably always have to supplement from copies the evidence which may be acquired from more trustworthy sources. Copies may vary very greatly in their distance from the original from which they are derived; from a replica, perhaps produced in the master's studio by his own pupils, to a late Roman copy, made to meet the commercial demand of a public which had no true knowledge or appreciation of art. The two extremes—especially the former—are far less common than the almost infinite variety of intermediate examples. And even in later times there doubtless were some amateurs who knew good work from bad, and encouraged faithful and intelligent copying. But we may take it as a general rule that a Greek artist of good period, even if he set himself deliberately to copy an earlier original, cared more for the spirit and style of the whole than for accuracy of detail; even if he reproduced it under the same conditions, he always allowed himself a certain amount of freedom—he reproduced the type rather than the individual statue. And if the conditions were changed—if he transferred the type from bronze to marble, or from sculpture in the round to relief—more still, if he had a given field, as upon a coin, to which he must adapt it—then he entirely recast the type to suit its new material or surroundings; he produced rather such a work as the original artist would have made, with the new conditions prescribed for him, than a copy, in the narrower sense of the word, of the extant and completed work. We must then, in the case of any copy of good Greek period, make allowance for such modifications as the copyist is likely to have introduced from artistic or other considerations; above all, we must never rely upon it for accessories in which he is likely to have asserted his freedom, though we may often give him credit for having preserved for us some touches of the inspiration of the original sculptor.

With the later and more mechanical copies produced for the Roman market the case is entirely different. Those who made

them were working for patrons who would have cared but little for the best features which we noticed in the work of the earlier Greek copyist, but who, on the other hand, were likely to insist on accuracy of details and accessories, in which alone the less educated among them would be able to see the resemblance to the original. For such details and accessories, therefore, we may be pretty safe in following the indications of later copies, even when they are at variance with earlier reproductions of the same original. But we shall look in vain to the later copies if we wish to appreciate the beauty of the original, or to understand the feelings which it inspired in appreciative observers. Who, if he imagined he could learn anything of the Athena Parthenos of Phidias (beyond the mere arrangement of her pose and attributes) from the copy known as the Varvakeion Statuette,¹ would not find ridiculous and extravagant the laudatory and even reverent expressions with which Phidias' statue is referred to by all ancient authorities? From such a copy we may borrow the accessories in attempting to realise in our imagination the great original; but for all except accessories we must rather go back to the remains of contemporary Attic sculpture.

(3) *Imitations* are to be distinguished from copies, inasmuch as they are works in which a later artist tries to imitate and reproduce the general character and type of some earlier artist or school, rather than to copy some individual statue. The distinction is not always easy to make, if the imitation be a good one, and if the original be lost. But the imitator usually betrays himself by an excess of conventionality or mannerism which he naturally finds easier to adopt than the more subtle characteristics of the earlier art or the ideas that inspire it. The simplest examples occur in the case of what are commonly called archaistic works in the narrower sense—statues or reliefs which reproduce and exaggerate the stiff conventional style of archaic works. It is hard to say when this practice of imitation began—probably as soon as art was sufficiently advanced for a difference to be perceptible between the style of the time and the greater stiffness of an earlier period. But in earlier times it was almost entirely confined to hieratic or decorative works. Religious conservatism would naturally oppose all innovations; and hence certain forms would be retained as the only fitting and acceptable ones for presentation or dedication to a god.

¹ See below, § 34.

And the Greeks were fully aware of the necessity of a more or less conventional treatment for decorative work ; in such cases too great a truth to nature would often be painful, as in the instance of the giants who served as architectural supports in the temple of Zeus at Girgenti (Acragas) ; and especially in the case of reliefs with dancing figures, the archaistic treatment of accessories seems by its stiffness to bind them to the ground which else they would seem ready to leave.¹ Later on, the mere quaintness of conventional archaic forms seems to have been sought after for its own sake, as in the case of the new-Attic reliefs² (which, however, were mostly decorative) ; and even statues were sometimes made upon this principle, though most of the apparent instances are probably rather to be regarded as copies of some archaic original than as imitative works. In most examples of these imitative archaistic statues or reliefs there is not much danger of deception to the trained eye ; the artist almost always betrays his knowledge of the resources of a more advanced art in some portions of his work, and he exaggerates what he imagines to be archaic characteristics, such as the poise of the figures on tip-toe, the stiff zigzag folds of drapery, turning up at the ends in an unnatural manner, and the conventional treatment of the hair. In some cases he has been so successful that a doubt is possible whether the work is archaistic or truly archaic ; but it is usually easy to see the difference between the production of a conventional and frigidly imitative art, and the honest striving of an early sculptor to do his utmost with the types and resources at his command, and to fill the stiff forms he has inherited with a greater truth to nature and a nearer approach to life.

There is another and a different class of imitative sculptures ; of this the best known examples are associated with the name of Pasiteles,³ a Greek artist who lived in Rome in the first century B.C. This artist and his scholars set themselves deliberately to study and imitate the style of early works, especially those of the athletic schools of the fifth century ; and as a result of this study they produced statues which, in some cases, were not copies of any individual works of those schools, but generally reproduced the style and subjects of the earlier period. Such a tendency as this can only be found in an age of decadence,

¹ See Brunn, *Das tektonische Princip in der griechischen Kunst*.

² See below, § 77.

³ See below, § 79.

since it implies the artist's dissatisfaction with the art of his own day, and his feeling that the only hope of improvement is in an artificial return to a long-past stage of development. We may see the influence of this feeling in many other works, which we should hardly care to class as purely imitative; for instance, in the *Venus of Melos*;¹ but when, as in that case, the artist has rather sought inspiration from the ideals of an earlier age than merely tried to imitate its types or its details of technical execution, the result is of a nobler and more independent character. Every sculptor must, of course, learn from his predecessors; it is only when such study occupies itself with their mannerisms rather than with their style, their defects rather than their excellences, that it betrays the weakness which leads to imitative and archaistic productions.

(b) *Materials and Processes of Greek Sculpture* ²

The materials used by the Greeks for sculpture may be divided into four classes—

(1) *Wood* (ξύλον); this was often inlaid or gilded, and sometimes portions were inserted in marble (ἀκρόλιθοι) or the whole was covered with gold and ivory (χρυσελεφάντινα).

(2) *Stone or Marble* (λίθος).

(3) *Metal*, most frequently bronze (χαλκός); but silver and gold were sometimes used.

(4) *Terra-cotta* (πήλινα), and other artificial materials, such as porcelain or glazed ware (λίθινα χυτά, etc.)

We will first consider the use made by Greek sculptors of each of these materials, and the technical processes which he employed in working them; there are also two other questions which find here their most natural place—

(5) The application of colour to sculpture.

(6) The use of pointing from finished models.

(1) *Wood*.—In a primitive stage of art wood seems the most obvious material, both from the ease with which it can be obtained and the facility with which it is worked. Unfortunately the climate of Greece is not such as to preserve so

¹ See below, § 70.

² Throughout this section I am indebted to Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie*.

perishable a material until the present time,¹ as it has been preserved in the early wooden statues from Egypt; and we are therefore left to gather our information as to Greek sculpture in wood either from literary notices, or from the traces left by the influence of wood-carving upon surviving sculpture in more durable substances.

The extent to which wood was used as a material for sculpture is testified by the numerous descriptions of early wooden statues which we meet in Pausanias and other writers.² But beyond the mere fact that the material was used, we learn very little from this literary notice. Even such meagre descriptions as we possess of a few of them can only be interpreted in the light of extant monuments. Ebony, cedar, and cypress, oak, olive, and other kinds of wood,³ were used to make statues of the gods, often doubtless with appropriateness to the particular deity; in fact, to shape a statue was but a step in advance of the stage where the tree itself served as the symbol of the deity.

The notion that wood was the material most readily found and worked in early times is exemplified by the tale of the wooden⁴ horse at Troy; though this imaginary structure cannot be taken seriously as an exception to the rule that there is no mention of sculpture in Homer.⁵

Pausanias' attribution of wooden statues extant in his time to Daedalus⁶ tells us little more than that they were of the conventional archaic type. When we come to Dipoenus and Scyllis, his legendary pupils, but beyond doubt also historical artists, we have more definite information. They are said to have made a group in ebony, with portions in ivory; and their pupils worked in cedar, in cedar and gold, and in ivory and gold. Another famous specimen of early decorative art in wood, the chest of Cypselus, was carved in cedar, with insertions in gold and ivory, and its material seems to imply a

¹ Pieces of wood, structural or decorative, have been preserved in exceptional cases; but no work of wooden sculpture.

² The word ξύλον seems to mean a *wooden* statue in Pausanias, but not always in other writers.

³ Paus. viii. 17, 2.

⁴ δούρατος, i.e. made of planks and beams, like a ship; cf. δόρυ νηϊον, δούρατα πύργων, etc.

⁵ See § 11.

⁶ The very name of Daedalus probably implies cunning in decorative wood-work, especially inlaying.

connection with these "Daedalid" artists.¹ It seems an obvious inference from these facts that sculpture in wood developed in quite early times into a new technique, according to which the wood which supplied the basis of the form was wholly or partially concealed by more precious materials—especially by gold and ivory, which we find in the fifth century recognised as the most fitting materials for a great temple statue. It was probably a desire to imitate the variety of texture and material originally derived from inlaying work in wood which led to insertions of superior material for portions of a work, especially the nude parts of female figures, the face, hands, and feet. In this case the colour and texture of marble made it peculiarly appropriate. The rest of such "Acrolithic" statues was usually made of wood; but we also find examples, such as the later Selinus metopes, in which pieces of marble are inserted in a relief of inferior stone.

The nature of our evidence as to sculpture in wood is not such as to give us much information about the technique or processes that were used. As to these we are left to inferences from the character of the material and the tools applicable to it, and from such influence of wood technique as we may see preserved in more durable materials. Such evidence must be used with some caution; for example, the conventional application of the word "wooden" to whatever is stiff and lifeless in art, might easily lead one to attribute the style of many early works to the influence of wood technique. At the same time, it is clear that the ease with which wood may be made to split in the direction of the grain might well tend to produce a series of flat parallel surfaces such as we see, for example, in the Spartan tomb-reliefs.² The same influence has often been traced in the square shape which we commonly find in archaic statues; but this opinion, though partly true, has gained undue support owing to the notion that a beam of wood is naturally square, and therefore that a primitive statue made out of such a beam would tend to be square also. The Greeks had no such notion;³ to them the round tree trunk was the simplest

¹ So H. Stuart Jones, *J. H. S.* 1894, 43.

² See § 22 (β).

³ Cf. Plutarch, *Apophth. Lac. Agesilaus*, θεασάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκίαν τετραγώνους ὠροφωμένην δοκοῖς, ἠρώτησε τὸν κεκτημένον εἰ τετράγωνα παρ' αὐτοῖς φέται ξύλα. φασμένου δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ στρογγύλα, τί οὖν, εἶπεν, εἰ τετράγωνα ἦν στρογγύλα ἐτελείτε; See also *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 133.

wooden form, and we see in a round statue like that from Samos (Fig. 11) its simplest modification.

In the case of the great gold and ivory statues, which were, as we have seen, originally a development from sculpture in wood, the technique and construction were extremely complicated. Probably, in small examples, the whole was made in solid wood, as in primitive times, and merely plated on the surface with ivory and gold. But in colossal works such a process was impracticable. In the first place a strong and complete skeleton of wooden or metal bars was necessary; and it had to be carefully constructed so as to give support wherever it was required, either by the members of the statue itself or by the attributes they carried. Over these must have been fixed a framework of wood to support the plates of gold and ivory which formed the visible surface. In order to mould or bend these plates into the requisite shape, a full-size model in clay or plaster was necessary, and we have indications that such models existed: at Olympia, the workshop of Phidias was the same size as the cella of the temple in which his statue of Zeus was to be erected; and at Megara, where the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war prevented Theocosmus from finishing his gold and ivory statue of Zeus, all but the head was made of clay and plaster—doubtless the very model prepared by the artist to work from. And behind the same temple lay the half-finished wooden framework which had been intended to carry the gold and ivory plates.

(2) *Stone or Marble* (λίθος).—This is by far the commonest material in all modern museums, though it probably was not so common as bronze in ancient times, at least for works of the highest order. But the comparatively indestructible character of marble, and its want of attraction to the plunderer in search of portable spoil, has led to its preservation in many cases where all other materials have disappeared; though marble also has afforded abundant plunder to local settlers, as is attested by the numerous lime-kilns found upon every ancient site where sculpture was to be found. But in spite of this, a vast quantity of sculpture in marble has survived, and it gives us the most full and varied information. For marble was essentially the material of all work in Greece. It was used by some of the greatest sculptors for the masterpieces which they finished with their own hands; and it also served the copyist

to reproduce not only marble works, but others too which were originally executed in bronze, in gold and ivory, or in other materials. Such copies vary greatly both in their artistic value and in the fidelity with which they render either the general character of the original work or its technical details; but it is often possible to estimate these qualities pretty exactly, and to make use of them accordingly.

In early times various kinds of soft stone, which were easy to carve, were freely used in sculpture. But it must be remembered that these coarse and often unsightly materials were usually, if not always, covered with a coat of paint. Thus their texture was obscured, and at the same time any delicate modelling or high finish of the surface was superfluous. At first any local material that could be easily worked was considered suitable for sculpture. Thus in Cyprus the local coarse and soft limestone was freely used; at Naucratis, often alabaster; and at Athens, the local Piræus stone, in the primitive sculptures. This was the λίθος πώρινος of the ancients, which was also extensively used for architecture. Many coarse and inferior local marbles were also used in early times, and continued to be used by local sculptors as well as builders. But when once the superiority of some of the exquisite marbles of Greece had been recognised, these came to be exclusively used for all works that had any pretension to artistic excellence.¹

Almost from the beginning of sculpture in Greece the marble from the two neighbouring islands of Naxos and Paros came not only to be used by local sculptors, but to be exported even to the more distant parts of Greece. Thus statues in Naxian marble have been found in places as remote from Naxos and one another as Samos, Boeotia, and Actium, and that too with differences of style such as to show that the marble must have been exported in blocks, not in finished statues.² This Naxian marble is usually of coarser grain than Parian, but it is not always possible to distinguish the two, since there are quarries of coarser marble in Paros, and of finer in Naxos;³ but this island marble is always easy to distinguish from the

¹ For this whole subject see Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*.

² Not so Sauer, *Mittheil. Ath.* 1892, p. 37; but cf. Lepsius, *op. cit.*, Nos. 58, 250, 373-374, etc. Besides, the arguments applied by Sauer to Naxian marble might just as well apply to Parian.

³ Prof. Lepsius is almost always very cautious about distinguishing these two marbles, and is usually content with the term "Inselmarmor" to include both.

fine-grained marbles of the Greek mainland, such as that of Pentelicus. In later times the Naxian marble fell into comparative disuse, but the Parian continued to be recognised as pre-eminently the sculptor's marble, especially that of rather finer grain, which comes from the deep quarries on Mount Marpessa; this was called *lychnites*, because, it is said, it had to be worked by artificial light. The quarries may still be seen, and one of them was actually worked quite recently, but for some reason without success. In Athens the bluish local marble from Hymettus was used for sculpture in early times; but almost all finer work was executed in imported marble from Paros. The quarries of Mt. Pentelicus were not worked until the fifth century; but from that time onward Pentelic marble was not only used in Athens for all sculpture and architecture, but also freely exported, and generally recognised as second only to Parian; but even an Attic artist like Praxiteles preferred Parian for his *Hermes*. The Pentelic marble is comparatively fine-grained, and contains a good deal of iron, to which is due the rich golden tint that it takes with the weather. The Pentelic quarries are still worked, though they now but rarely yield perfectly white blocks. Another marble much used in the Peloponnese comes from the quarries of Doliana, near Tegea;¹ it resembles Pentelic, but is of a grayish tinge and less pleasing texture. Another marble, very white and fine-grained, is found in Thessaly. It would be easy to add to this enumeration of the marbles most commonly used; but few others were of more than local celebrity. In Roman times, the marble of Luna, the modern Carrara, was extensively used, especially by Greek artists working in Italy; its dull white colour and too close texture form an unpleasant contrast to the transparent beauty of Greek marbles such as Parian and Pentelic. Indeed, one of the disadvantages under which modern sculpture labours is this inferior marble; and it must further be remembered that an ancient sculptor, even when working in Greek marble never regarded his statue as finished until he had treated its surface with some preparation which, if it did not give it a tint of colour, at least modified the intense whiteness which, especially under a southern sun, dazzles the eyes and makes them unable to appreciate delicacies

¹ Used, *e.g.*, for the statues by Damophon at Lycosura, and for the Phigalian frieze.

of modelling. So far we have been concerned only with white marble, or nearly white. The elaborate combinations of different rich-coloured marbles, which are common in Roman times, do not concern us in dealing with Greek sculpture, except in so far as some of them may reproduce the effect of statues in gold and ivory or similar materials. A peculiar experiment is the use of a background of black Eleusinian stone for a relief in white marble, which we see on the Erechtheum.

As to the technique of Greek sculpture in marble we fortunately possess most valuable evidence in several unfinished statues, in various stages of working,¹ which are preserved in the National Museum at Athens. The earliest of these, which was found in a Naxian quarry, has merely been rough-hewn with a punch or pointed hammer. In this statue the squareness of shape is remarkable: a rule held horizontally across the front or back would touch the surface of the marble almost across the whole breadth; and there are traces of a similar surface at the sides, though the pieces cut out to outline the arms have to a great extent destroyed it. Such a shape implies that the primitive sculptor did just what a beginner would do now, if set to cut a figure free-hand out of a rectangular block; he has sketched a front and a side view in outline on the front and side of the block, and then cut them straight through. A similar explanation is probably to be given for the square shape which we so often find in archaic works, though perhaps in some cases this shape is due merely to the fact that the sculptor had a rectangular block to work on, and either from artistic timidity or the influence of convention departed from the initial shape of the block as little as he could, consistently with his desire to render the appearance of the figure which he had in his mind. Unfinished statues of a later period show us various stages in the work, and in these we can see both the processes followed by the sculptor and the tools which he employed. It is clear, in the first place, that he must have worked free-hand—that is to say, whether he had a clay model before him or not, he did not reproduce such a model by any mechanical process of pointing, but cut straight into his block of marble, guiding himself mostly by the eye. At the same time, he doubtless used some mechanical aids; for example, on

¹ See *J. H. S.* 1890, pp. 129-142.

one statue we see the drill-holes by which a rod was fixed vertically down the front of a statue to guide the sculptor's eye and hand. In the same unfinished statue we see how the figure is gradually cut out of the block; merely roughed out at first, while finer processes and more exact tools are used as the final surface is approached. Thus the whole figure is worked over again and again until there is but little left to come off. Then, on this last layer above the final surface, the outlines of muscles and other details are drawn in broad shallow grooves; thus the artist has their guidance in finishing the modelling of the final surface.

The marks of working on statues, unfinished or finished, give us a pretty complete notion of the tools used by the Greek sculptor. For the rougher work the tool most used was a sharp chipping instrument, either a punch used with a mallet or a pointed hammer. Then the round chisel was used, both in working away the surface where there was still a good deal to remove, and in drawing the shallow grooves that guided the modelling. The claw chisel was also a favourite tool for the parts approaching the final surface; the square or flat chisel¹ does not seem to have been much used except in finishing. Other finishing instruments, such as various kinds of files, could hardly be dispensed with; and sand too was doubtless used for smoothing and polishing. Some archaic statues show distinct traces of the use of the saw in cutting the deep vertical folds of drapery; in later times the drill was extensively used both for these and for the hair. The invention of the drill is attributed by Pausanias to Callimachus, who lived in the latter part of the fifth century; this is clearly impossible, drill marks being visible, for example, in the Aegina marbles;² but Callimachus, who was noted for the extreme delicacy and skill of his work, probably either improved the instrument or used it far more extensively than had before been usual in sculpture, especially for deep incision or undercutting. The "invention" of sculpture in marble is attributed by Pliny in one passage to the Chian family of Melas and his descendants, in another to the Cretan "Daedalid" artists, Dipoenus and Scyllis. He is evidently repeating two rival and inconsistent traditions, derived from two different sources;³

¹ For an illustration of these tools, see *J. H. S. art. cit.* p. 137.

² Brunn, *Geschichte d. gr. Künstler*, i. 253.

³ See § 19.

and there is no reason why we should attribute to either of them any more historical value than to the other. Such stories of "inventions" seldom mean more than that the artists in question were among the earliest to practise the craft attributed to them; and in the present case they practically add nothing to what we learn from other sources about the early history of sculpture in marble.

(3) *Metal*.—The use of bronze in early times was so universal that we should naturally expect it to be among the first materials employed for sculpture. Decorative bronze work, whether relief or inlaying (damascening), is often found among the remains of the Mycenaean period, and is familiar to Homer; and we shall see¹ how the early bronze reliefs give us the first specimens of true Hellenic art, preserving many of the types inherited from the Mycenaean period. We also find statuettes, of the rudest workmanship, made in bronze or lead from the most primitive times; but there is a great advance in the skill of working bronze which comes in about the same time as the rise of sculpture in Greece at the beginning of the sixth century. This fits in very well with the story that the art of bronze foundry was invented by Rhoecus and Theodorus of Samos, although, like all other stories of inventions, it must be received with great caution. In the present case it would imply that Rhoecus and Theodorus, who had probably learnt their craft in Egypt, either first introduced it into Greece or greatly improved the processes hitherto employed. However this may be, bronze from this time on was freely used both for statues and statuettes. Almost every great sculptor of antiquity worked sometimes in bronze, and many of them exclusively, especially those who preferred athletic subjects. Indeed, bronze was the material of the majority of the vast number of statues set up in the open air upon all the great religious centres of Greece; but the ease with which the metal could be melted down has in almost all cases caused its destruction, so that in modern museums but few bronze statues survive, though a large number of bronze originals are preserved to us in marble copies.

In early decorative reliefs we find two kinds of bronze chiefly used—a harder and more brittle kind used mostly for ornamentation of the Geometric style, and a softer and more

¹ § 9.

malleable used for the Argive and Corinthian reliefs and similar works. We hear of many varieties of bronze used in Greece in later times; the best known were the Corinthian, esteemed the finest of all, and the Delian and Aeginetan, preferred by Myron and Polyclitus respectively. These were probably varying mixtures of copper and tin, to which the Corinthian is said to have sometimes added gold and silver; but numerous analyses have failed to establish any particular proportions as characteristic of any place or school. The combination of copper and zinc, which we know as brass, seems not to have been used for sculpture until Roman times.

Before the introduction of foundry, plates or bars of bronze were merely beaten out into the shape required, and all ornaments or figures in relief were beaten up with a blunt instrument from behind (*repoussé*), and finished by the engraving of details with a sharp instrument in front. In primitive statuettes of the rudest workmanship it is often easy to distinguish the different bars which are bent or beaten into the required figure. We are told also of statues which were made of plates, beaten out into the required shape in pieces, and then riveted together; such a statue of Zeus, made by Clearchus of Rhegium, was shown at Sparta.

A good illustration of the early stages of bronze technique is offered by two images of Dionysus seen by Pausanias¹ at Thebes. The first of these was a log of wood that fell from heaven, plated with bronze, and probably resembling the Apollo of Amyclae, which, we are told, was a mere column of bronze with head, arms, and feet added. Beside this stood another statue of the god, cast in solid bronze. Such solid casting is very common in early statuettes; but for statues the waste of valuable material and the inconvenient weight must soon have led to the introduction of hollow casting. This may be performed by various methods, all of which were probably in use among the Greeks. The essential thing is to introduce a core into the inside of the mould, in such a way that the molten metal will not fill the mould entirely, as in solid casting, but only the interval between the mould and the core. If the coat of metal is to be at all thin, as it must be in fine casting, the core must correspond very nearly to the shape and size of the mould. This may be done by taking a mould from

¹ ix. 12, 4.

"is king^{mw}-
died"

a finished clay model, making a cast from this in some fire-proof material, and then scraping away all over the surface of the cast a thickness corresponding to the thickness of metal required. The cast being then placed within the mould, the metal poured into the interval between them will take the exact form of the original model. A mould and core of this nature can, however, be produced with the greatest ease and accuracy by the use of wax, in what is now known and practised as the *cire perdue* process. The method used in this process is to introduce a coat of wax between the core and the mould. The wax may be introduced by making a core of fire-proof material corresponding exactly to the statue required, but falling within its final surface by the thickness which the bronze is to have; to this core the wax is applied all over to bring it up to the final surface, and then all detailed modelling of surface is added on the wax itself. Over this the mould is applied, first with fine sand laid on with a brush, afterwards with stronger and coarser material. The wax can then be melted out and the metal poured in to take its place. There is another and less simple way in which the wax can be inserted. First a clay model is made corresponding exactly to the required statue, and finished on the surface. Over this is placed the mould, by the same method as before. Then the mould is taken to pieces and the original clay model taken out. A coat of wax of the required thickness is then applied to the inside of the mould, and the rest is filled up with fireproof material to form the core. Then the wax is melted out and the metal poured in as before. This process seems to have been the one used by Polyclitus, to judge from his well-known saying, χαλεπώτατον τὸ ἔργον ὅταν ἐν ὄνυχι ὁ πηλός. He would have said ὁ κηρός if he had used the simpler *cire perdue* process. On the other hand, we have no positive evidence that he or the other sculptors of his time used wax at all, although we know that the use of wax in bronze foundry was practised at least by later Greek artists.

Technical details in this process—such as the insertion of bars to hold apart the core and the mould when the wax was withdrawn, the holes and channels for pouring the wax out and the bronze in, and the vent-holes for the escape of the air—must have been similar at all times. The core was usually, though not

always,¹ extracted by being broken up and drawn out through holes left for the purpose.

It was common in Greece to cast a bronze statue in parts, which were afterwards welded together. Thus upon a fifth century vase,² representing the interior of a bronze sculptor's workshop, we see an unfinished statue into which a workman is fixing one of the arms, while the head lies beside him on the ground. The same vase shows also the final process, subsequent to the casting; the surface is being polished by strigil-like instruments. Details also, especially in the treatment of the hair, were worked with a graver or other sharp tool; the eyes were usually inserted in different materials, and various details were often inlaid in silver or other metal. Indeed, so much depended on this finishing of the surface of the bronze itself, that it was necessary for a sculptor in bronze to be also a master of "caelatura"—that is to say, to know all the technical processes used for decorative work in metal.

Silver was also used occasionally as a material for sculpture, mostly for statuettes and for decorative work. It was especially preferred by some artists of Hellenistic time, such as Boethus.

The use of gold in gold and ivory sculpture has already been spoken of as a development of wood technique. Statues were also made entirely of gold, mostly as sumptuous dedications by the rich tyrants of early times. Such golden statues are usually especially distinguished by the name *Sphyrelata*, *beaten with the hammer*; the process was probably the same as that mentioned for early bronze works which were beaten out in plates by a similar process, and not cast. The most famous example was the colossal Zeus dedicated by the Cypselids of Corinth at Olympia. The partial or complete gilding of statues in inferior materials, not only bronze but also marble, was common enough at all times.

(4) *Terra-cotta, etc.*—Greek terra-cottas really form a subject by themselves, which cannot be included in such a work as this; but they cannot be altogether omitted, since they have in earlier times some influence on the formation of sculptural types, and in later times they fall under the influence of various

¹ In early bronzes the core is often left inside; see Furtwängler, *Olympia IV. Bronzen*, text, p. 9.

² Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 506; also frontispiece to Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*.

σφοδρα-ἐδάνκω.

artists or artistic tendencies, and so preserve sometimes what would otherwise have been altogether lost to us. At the same time, monumental sculpture in terra-cotta seems to have been very rare in Greece itself, though it was pretty common in Italy: many terra-cotta statues of life size or larger have been found in Cyprus; and there are the remains of at least one on the Acropolis at Athens in very archaic style.

The great majority of Greek terra-cottas are either reliefs or small statuettes, and in almost all cases these are cast from a mould, though details and accessories were often added with the hand; in the case of statuettes it was usual to mould the front only, and either to leave the back plain or to model it roughly by hand. The great distinction between this use of moulds and what we find in the case of bronzes is that the moulds for terra-cottas were frequently used again and again, not once only—in fact, that the production of terra-cottas was regarded as a commercial handicraft rather than as an art. The head, the arms, and other parts, such as the wings of winged figures, were often moulded separately, and fixed into their place afterwards; and thus it was possible to produce considerable variety even in figures cast from the same mould. The painting, too, which was usually applied to terra-cottas leaves room for considerable variety.

Copies of statues by known artists are very rarely, but occasionally, found in terra-cotta. Thus there is in Athens a free copy of the Hermes of Praxiteles;¹ and a copy of the Diadumenus of Polyclitus, reproduced in the *Hellenic Journal*, Pl. lxi., is, if genuine, among the finest antique terra-cottas that have survived. The great number of terra-cotta figures found at Tanagra and elsewhere in Greece, though many of them of wonderful grace and beauty, do not give us much help in restoring the great works of art of the period to which they belong, mostly the fourth and third centuries B.C. Nor are the later and more florid works from Myrina and elsewhere in Asia Minor of more use for our present purpose.

Statuettes in glazed ware or faience are not very common, and are mostly made under foreign influence, chiefly Egyptian. Some of the finest specimens were probably made in Egypt itself. But even if these are of purely Greek work, they are not, any more than terra-cottas, of any great value

¹ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, Pl. 7.

as part of the monumental evidence as to the history of Greek sculpture.

(5) *The Application of Colour to Sculpture*.¹—There is little doubt that the intention of the primitive artist was to imitate his living models as nearly as possible in colour as well as in form; but it is the great merit of the early Greek sculptor to appreciate the difficulty of this attempt, and to limit his endeavours accordingly. Convention is the natural result of this artistic feeling—that is to say, the artist is led to select from the infinite variety of nature such set types of form and such schemes of colour as he feels himself able to deal with; it is this characteristic beyond all others that distinguishes the first promise of an artistic style from the crude attempts of the barbarian. Terra-cottas and sculptures in rough stone show us the early use of such a scheme of colours, more or less conventional in its application. The commonest arrangement, which we find continuing in terra-cotta through all periods, is to use white for the skin of women, and flesh colour varying from pink to reddish-brown for that of men; dark red for the hair and eyes, and red and white, as well as other simple colours, for the drapery and accessories. But there is no fixed rule about this: thus in the rough stone architectural sculptures on the Acropolis at Athens we see dark blue, probably used as a conventional substitute for black, applied to the beard and hair of men, and to the whole coat of a horse or a bull; and the eyes of the Typhon are green.

The introduction of marble probably had the greatest influence in the modification of this system. In some early marble works we still find the old system preserved of covering the whole surface with colour. But for the skin of female figures the white surface of the marble already offered the required colour without the addition of any further pigment; and when an opportunity had thus been given for appreciating the exquisite texture of the marble and the beauty with which it adapted itself to the rendering of the human skin, the result was inevitable. We accordingly find the plan of colouring the whole surface of a statue almost entirely given up in the best period; and although no fixed and general rules can be laid down as to the practice of Greek sculptors in this matter, the

¹ See Smith's *Dict. Ant.*, art. "Pictura"; Baumeister, art. "Polychromie," where other references are given.

lightening ham rāros (raiw).

scanty hints given us by ancient authorities accord so well with the results of recent discovery that there cannot be much doubt as to the most usual proceedings.

We must distinguish in the case of marble between two processes—the treatment or coloration of the whole surface, and the application of bands or points of colour to details, in such a way as to throw up and emphasise the effect of the whole. The first process, which was called by the Greeks γάρωσις, was applied, as we are told by Vitruvius, to the nude parts of statues; and we learn from the same authority that it required frequent renewal. We need not therefore be surprised to find that few if any traces of it are to be found upon extant statues, since either exposure to the air or burial in the earth would have destroyed them. We usually notice, however, on any statues that have been finely finished and well preserved, and have escaped the hand of the restorer, that there is a difference in the nature of the surface between the nude parts and the drapery, beyond what is due to the purely sculptural processes. This difference must be due to the γάρωσις. The means by which it was carried out are also told us by Vitruvius and Pliny. White Punic wax was mingled with a little oil and applied with a brush; then heat was applied to make it even and to cause it to sink in; after this the marble was rubbed over with a wax candle and polished with linen cloths. The effect of such a process would be to soften the white glare of the marble without in any way obscuring its texture. It is true that the descriptions of this process are of too late authority for us to accept them with certainty as applying to Greek sculpture of an earlier period. In Hellenistic and Roman times the custom of polishing the surface of marble was carried to a reprehensible extreme, so that in some cases the beautiful texture of the material is obscured, and it is made to resemble majolica in appearance; but there does not seem any reason for doubting that a similar process, though applied with more artistic moderation, was usual in earlier times.

The second process, the object of which was not to tone the surface of the marble itself, but to offer a contrast to it, and so to enhance the effect of its colour and texture, was called in Latin *circumlitio*; we can only conjecture the Greek term corresponding, but the methods employed by Greek artists,

especially of early period, are now fairly well known to us. This is due to the discovery of the statues on the Acropolis, which preserve to a remarkable degree their original colouring; these are so numerous that it is possible to have confidence in the evidence they afford. Previously the examples of clear traces of colour upon free statues were so scanty, and belonged mostly to so late a period, that it was dangerous to draw inferences from them as to the regular practice of Greek sculpture. In the early marble statues on the Acropolis we find the large surfaces of the marble invariably left plain, while only borders or details are added, mostly in rich dark colours. Thus the hair is usually painted dark red; and red is also applied to the lips and the iris of the eye; the eyebrows, the outlines of the eyelids, and the iris, and the whole of the pupil are painted with a dark pigment, almost black, thus reminding us of the statement of Plato, that in statues the most beautiful part of the human body, the eye, was usually painted black. The drapery also is left in its large masses in the natural colour of the marble. No garment is coloured all over, unless only a very small part of it shows, and thus it does not offer a broad mass of colour, but merely a patch which serves to contrast with the colour and texture of the marble displayed through the rest of the statue. A similar effect is produced by the borders of rich colour and design which we see on almost every garment, and by the ornaments scattered over their surface. The effect of this painted decoration is extremely rich and harmonious; the texture and colour of the marble are not obscured, but enhanced by contrast; and we have from these sculptures none of the unpleasant impression which is given, for example, by a coloured cast. The reason is not far to seek. In an object covered completely with an opaque coat of colour, the true surface is hidden, and there consequently arises a suspicion of an inferior material. Here the texture and quality of the marble is emphasised rather than obscured.

We have no reason to suppose that the rules as to colouring that we have observed in this instance were observed by Greek sculptors of all schools and periods. We have, indeed, direct evidence to the contrary. For example, in a statue of Aphrodite from Pompeii,¹ which leans on a draped idol of archaistic work, imitated from the type preserved in the Acropolis statues,

¹ Baumeister, *Denkm.*, Pl. xlvii. ; *A. Z.* 1881, Pl. 7.

q. paint on vessels and boats.

the drapery of this archaistic figure is coloured all over, both the inner and the outer garment; and the drapery of the goddess herself is also coloured, though in paler and more delicate tints. In the archaistic figure the artist seems to have chosen purposely the primitive practice of colouring the whole surface, though we have seen it was soon given up in marble work. As to his own statue it is harder to speak; he may have been following a practice common in his time, of which other examples are preserved; it is indeed possible that it was not unknown at any period to give a wash of colour, tinting but not obscuring the surface of the marble even on the nude parts, before the process of polishing with wax. But the evidence that we possess tends to show that such colouring was unusual. In any case, we may be sure that the application of colour, if not always according to the rules we have observed, was always within strict artistic limits, and that there was no tendency in a Greek marble statue to resemble a wax-work image. That the process was not a purely mechanical one, but required the utmost artistic skill and taste, is sufficiently proved by the fact that the great painter Nicias did not consider it beneath him to undertake the *circumlitio*, the adding of details in colour, to the statues of Praxiteles; and that Praxiteles esteemed most highly such of his works as had the advantage of this painter's finishing touch.

The gilding of statues was a more mechanical process, and required frequent renewing, as we learn from inscriptions and other evidence. Gilding was applied not only to bronze, but also to marble; thus we hear that the Eros of Thespieae, by Praxiteles, had gilt wings, though the taste that permitted this was impugned by some later critics; and in the case of the same artist's Hermes, the only remains of colour found at its discovery were some traces of red and gilding upon the sandal.

In relief work colour was more freely used than in sculpture in the round. In architectural friezes, for example, the whole relief was often regarded as a coloured member, contrasting with the white surfaces around, and therefore both drapery and flesh were sometimes coloured in their broad masses. The background was usually painted red or blue; details and accessories were very frequently added in colour only; indeed, in some cases the artist trusted quite as much to the colour as to the relief for

the effect he wished to produce. This is especially the case with architectural sculpture. Greek architecture was assisted by painting in just the same way as Greek sculpture—that is to say, the broad masses and principal supporting members, such as the columns and the architrave, were left in the natural colour of the marble, while mouldings and other details were picked out in colour. To harmonise with the effect thus produced, we should expect the larger sculptural groups, pediments, etc., that ornament a building, to be left also without colour in their broad masses, and to have details added by painting; and this appears to have been usually the case.¹ The wall which formed a background to such groups was painted blue or red, just as the ground of a relief.

A few passages in ancient authors seem at first sight to imply that some colouring process was applied also to sculpture in bronze. Thus we hear of the pale hue given by Silanion to his bronze statue of the dying Jocasta; and we hear in another instance of a reddish flush being imparted by an admixture of iron with the bronze. It is obvious that in a statue cast in one piece there can be no question of giving a local colour to some part by any such process. The stories in question may be due merely to a literal interpretation by later compilers of what was originally a purely rhetorical description, such as the maiden blush that Himerius² describes on the face of the Lemnian Athena—also a bronze work. But in other cases either a mixture of bronze of an appropriate colour may have been selected for the whole statue, or else some parts may have been cast separately and inserted. Such insertions, often in silver, gave much the same effect in a bronze statue as the painting of details on marble. In particular, the eyes were usually of inserted materials—a proceeding occasionally transferred also to marble. But any attempt to apply a pigment to the surface of a bronze statue seems out of the question. On the other hand, gilding either of the whole or of parts was very common.

(6) *The Use of Pointing from a Finished Model.*—In the case of bronze statues, if cast and not made by the primitive hammering process, a full-sized finished model, in some easily worked and perishable material, is an obvious necessity. And

¹ It is attested, *e.g.*, in the case of the Aeginetan sculptures.

² *S. Q.* 761.

we have seen that in the case of gold and ivory works also a full-sized model seems to be technically indispensable. When we come to consider marble sculpture, the case is by no means so clear. The practice among modern sculptors is to prepare first a full-sized and finished model in clay; from this a cast is usually made in plaster or some other more durable material. On the cast a number of points are marked; these points are then transferred to the block of marble by a mechanical process of measurement, and are drilled in to the required depth. The superfluous marble is cut away until the points are reached, and then nothing remains to be done but to give the last finish to the surface of the marble. This last process ought of course to be the work of the sculptor's own hand, though it is now not infrequently left to skilled assistants; but the more mechanical work of pointing and chiselling away the bulk of the marble is generally done by trained workmen. It is clear that on a statue made by this process, if left unfinished, some trace of the measured points (called *puntelli*) is pretty sure to remain; and it is thus easy to ascertain whether they formed part of the method followed by ancient sculptors. And in fact we can see such *puntelli* upon several unfinished works of sculpture. But these mostly belong to Hellenistic or Roman times; and even on works of this later period they are not always to be seen,¹ while on earlier monuments they seem to be almost, if not entirely, unknown. If we turn to our literary authorities, all indications point in the same direction. Thus we are told that Pasiteles, who worked in Rome in the first century B.C., asserted modelling in clay to be the mother of all kinds of sculpture; and that he never made a statue without first preparing a model in clay. Such a specific statement in his case seems to imply that the practice was by no means universal. And Arcesilaus, whose clay models are said to have been sold at a higher rate than the finished works of other artists, was a contemporary of Pasiteles. Pliny says again that it was due to the invention or the example of Lysistratus, the brother of Lysippus, that the practice became so prevalent that no statue was made without the construction of a clay model.² We are therefore prepared to find that in

¹ Not, e.g., on the unfinished parts of the small frieze from Pergamus.

² xxxiv. 153, "crevitque res in tantum ut nulla signa statuæve sine argilla fierent." These words are clear enough, but they do not follow on what has just

unfinished statues of earlier date, not only is there no sign of *puntelli*, but the whole system of cutting is one that implies the absence of such mechanical help; the sculptor seems to be cutting his way down to his statue with a caution that would not be needed if the depth to which he was to cut in each place were already measured and marked out.

It does not of course follow, because no mechanical system of pointing was used, that there was no clay model at all; this is a question on which we cannot expect to find much evidence, and different opinions may be held, according to various views as to the probability of the case. From the earliest time modelling in clay was customary, and a material so easy to work must always have been preferable for the first efforts of the learner. But in early times the number of sculptural types was so limited that there was really no need for the sculptor to make a model in clay before beginning to carve a statue in stone or marble. The type was fixed for him, and very possibly already before his eyes in a conventional model. Such variety as he might introduce in his work was rather in the study of detail than in the general conformation of the figure; and although he may often have made a sketch in clay of what he had observed in nature, there is no reason to suppose that he worked this into a full-sized and complete clay model before he began cutting into his block of marble. When we come to the period of artistic freedom, the conditions are altered; at such a time it seems obvious that a sculptor would embody his first conception of a work of art in a sketch in clay or wax, but it does not follow that he made a finished and full-sized model in one of these materials before he attacked his marble, which he cut, as we have seen, more or less free-hand. A full-sized clay or plaster model to work from is not in such a case indispensable, though doubtless the more cautious and studious among sculptors would usually prefer to have one. But we must remember that the confidence and freedom given to an ancient sculptor by the force of tradition, hereditary skill, and training, as well as by the constant observation of the living and moving human form in the palaestra and elsewhere, gave him a great advantage over the modern artist, who is mainly

preceded, which refers to taking casts from statues. Either something is lost, or Pliny in compiling has omitted something from his authority: probably the latter.

dependent on the study of posed models. And, moreover, the ease with which the finest marble could be obtained made it a far less serious loss if some few blocks were spoiled than is the case now, when fine blocks have to be procured from a distance and bought at fancy prices. There is nothing impossible in a sculptor's working without a full-sized model; Michael Angelo, for example, is recorded to have done so often. And although there probably was no set custom in the matter, and the practice of different artists varied according to their surroundings or their individual facility, it is likely that Greek sculptors of the finest period of art often dispensed with any such help. In later times, when genius and inspiration were less frequent, and art was more a matter of academic study, we find that the use of finished clay models became as universal as it is at the present day, and that their form was transferred to the marble by the same mechanical process that is now in use. The *puntelli*, however, seem, from their comparatively limited number, to have been rather a help to the sculptor in carving the marble in which his idea was to be finally embodied, than as a purely mechanical means of producing a marble facsimile of the clay model that is too often, in our day, the final embodiment of the sculptor's own work.

(c) *Sculpture: Decorative, Architectural, Free*

If the whole abundance of Greek sculpture were available for our study as it was in the days of Pausanias, it would not often be necessary for us to go beyond the bounds of free sculpture. But the circumstances which have preserved to us the scanty remnants that we still possess have enhanced the historical value of much that must be regarded, in a sense, as decorative work. Owing to their position in the building, and the material of which they were made, the sculptures that ornamented the pediment and frieze of a temple have in many cases survived, when all the statues that stood in the same temple or were dedicated in the surrounding precinct have been destroyed. And again, even if these more portable statues were removed and not destroyed, and so are preserved to our time, we frequently have no clue to guide us in seeking to ascertain when or where they were made; while the sculptural decoration of a temple is often recorded by historical evidence, or can be

dated by the architectural forms of the building itself. We must, however, in making use of architectural or decorative sculpture as evidence for the history of art, remember the conditions prescribed by its surroundings, and allow for their influence upon the characteristics which we observe.

In the earliest days of Greek sculpture there seems to have been little but rude, practically unsculptured, images of the gods, and decorative relief-work, mostly in metal or wood. It was from the dedications set up in temple precincts, or the monuments erected over graves, that free sculpture seems to have been developed; but the influence of the decorative work was also very great. By it many types were preserved, if not originated, which afterwards came to be adopted into the repertoire of Greek sculpture; and it produced a skill in working metal, and even a study of nature in detail, which were of the greatest service to the advance of art. There is a whole series of these decorative works, beginning with the shields and other things described by Homer, and leading up to such compositions as the chest of Cypselus, the Amyclæan throne, and even the throne of Zeus at Olympia, with which we shall have to deal in turn.

The sculptural decoration of temples occupies an even more prominent place in the history of Greek art, and in some cases offers the most trustworthy evidence we possess as to some particular sculptor or school; the metopes of Selinus, the pediments from Aegina, the Elgin marbles from the Parthenon, the heads by Scopas from the temple at Tegea, may almost be said to offer the foundation on which much of the history of Greek sculpture has been reconstructed. With these also we must deal, each in its place. But here we may note the general conditions under which architectural sculpture was made, in order that we may not be obliged to return to them when speaking of each work as we come to it in the historical treatment of the subject.

It may be laid down as a general rule that sculptural decoration may not be applied to those parts of a building which are essential to its structure or stability. In the columns, for example, and the architrave that rests upon them, we see the fundamental forms of Greek architecture; and to weaken these in appearance by carving is clearly inappropriate. Yet we find exceptions even in this case. At Assos the architrave

was sculptured, and at Ephesus the columns of the temple were decorated with bands of figures. In both these cases the anomaly is probably to be ascribed to a survival from the custom of covering wooden beams and supports with bronze casing, ornamented with repoussé work. A still more striking exception occurs when a sculptured figure is substituted for a column, as in the case of the Caryatids at the Erechtheum; but these instances are exceptional, and only occur when the entablature to be carried is an exceptionally light one, and does not carry the weight of the building above it. On the other hand, sculpture may most appropriately be applied to fill the gaps between the supporting or carrying members. Statues may be placed between the columns; though in the case of temples this was usually inconvenient, as impeding the passage, it was probably done in the case of monuments such as the Nereid monument and the Mausoleum. Above the architrave, in the Doric order, the triglyphs seem to continue the supporting lines of the columns, and the spaces between them, the metopes, may be filled with sculpture; again, between the top of the horizontal entablature and the gable of the roof, the triangular field of the pediment seems to invite the ornament of a sculptural composition. And above the line of the roof, figures may be added which stand out against the sky.

In any temple there are, properly speaking, only two places where sculptural decoration is prescribed by the normal rules of the order, whether Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian. Sculpture is never an indispensable adjunct, but it may be applied either to the pediment or to the frieze. In addition to this, acroteria were usually placed on the three angles of each pediment. Sometimes these consisted of purely decorative vegetable or animal forms; frequently they were single figures, often of Victories, which showed up appropriately as floating figures against the sky; sometimes, as at Delos, they were complicated groups; but here also the subjects were chosen appropriately: the winged Boreas carrying off Orithyia, and the winged Eos carrying off Cephalus, were peculiarly adapted for such a position.

The pediment itself, with its elongated triangular field, has at all times offered the greatest difficulties to the sculptor, and has, partly through the pressure of those very difficulties, produced the greatest and most harmonious compositions. The

varying height of the field—from the centre, which seems to require a colossal form to fill it, to the angles, where there is barely room for a reclining figure—requires the utmost ingenuity on the part of the artist if the whole is to be occupied by a single group, in which no great variety in the size of the various figures is admissible. And besides this, the massive architectural frame requires a similarly broad and massive treatment in the figures themselves; while the wish for contrast often makes quick and even violent motion seem necessary, if the monotony and repose of the surroundings are to be broken through at all.

The earliest pediments which we possess are those sculptured in rough stone on the Acropolis at Athens, which, as we shall see, are certainly to be regarded as a development of Ionic art. These are almost without exception scenes of combat, and the subjects chosen provide in every case an antagonist with a tail like that of a snake or a fish, to fill with its coils the angles of the pediments. In some cases the sculpture is in comparatively low relief, in others the figures are practically in the round, and are merely set against a background—a practice which prevails in later pediments, and which is almost necessitated by the strong projection of the architectural frame. In one of these pediments we meet with another device which was very widely adopted—the introduction of a chariot; the length of the car and the horses is an invaluable help in filling the long and narrowing field, and it also forms a most convenient separation between the middle group, in which the interest of the composition centres, and the subordinate figures at the sides, which may thus even be on a slightly smaller scale without attracting attention. When there are two chariots, balancing one another in the same pediment, as at Olympia and probably on the Parthenon, the advantage is still greater.

Combat scenes are the rule on most other early pediments: a gigantomachy was the subject of the earliest marble pediment at Athens, and of the pediment of the Megarian Treasury at Olympia; and the Aegina pediments are another familiar instance. Here we not only have the required motive for violent motion, but the various positions assumed by the combatants fit the field excellently; the kneeling bowmen and spearmen are behind the standing figures, and those who lie wounded or dying in the corners are appropriate to the scene. Other motives are employed in other pediments for the reclining figures which

fill the corners; river gods, to whom such a posture is appropriate, appear in several cases, and the convenience of this application perhaps had some influence in fixing the type. Another, and still finer, device for filling the corners was used on the Parthenon, where the sun rising with his team from the sea at one end is balanced by the sinking moon at the other; at Delphi the setting of the sun was probably used as a similar device, with the rising moon as its counterpart.

With the peculiar artistic excellences or defects which appear in the composition of various extant pedimental groups we shall have to deal in each case separately; but there are some few general characteristics which may be noted here once for all. We have seen already that either rest and stability on the one hand, or violent motion on the other, is required by the massive architectural frame, according to two alternative principles; the artist either wished his figures to harmonise with the restful and quiet surroundings in which they were placed, or else he made them produce variety of effect by their contrast with the rigid lines by which they were contained. In many temples of the finest period we find a still further refinement; the quieter scene is usually assigned to the eastern pediment, which is on the front of the temple, while at the back, on the western pediment, we find a group in vigorous motion. This is especially the case in the temple at Olympia, where the antagonists about to enter the chariot race stand around Zeus the arbiter in a quiet, almost monotonously symmetrical, group on the eastern pediment, while the western is filled with the struggling groups and violent contortions of the fight of the Lapiths and Centaurs. So too at Delphi we are told that on the eastern pediment was Apollo with his choir of Muses; on the western Dionysus with his rout of Maenads. In the Parthenon the distinction, though more subtle, is still of a similar nature: the birth of Athena on the eastern pediment, her contest with Poseidon on the western. The notion appears to have been that, while the more violent or terrible manifestations of divine power were conspicuously recorded on the temple, the worshipper approaching and entering the shrine should rather be impressed with the quieter and more majestic aspect of the god, whose statue within usually expressed his benignity rather than the power of his wrath. But this rule about the pediments was not universally followed even after it had become customary. For example,

the two pediments of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, designed by Scopas, had the hunt of the Calydonian boar in front, the combat of Achilles and Telephus at the back.

Apart from pedimental groups, as we have seen, the only proper place for sculpture on any building is the frieze. The architrave, which rests immediately on the columns, is too essentially a supporting member to bear a weakening of its apparent strength and massiveness by sculptural decoration, though the experiment of ornamenting it with bas-reliefs was tried on the temple at Assos. In the case of the frieze there is no such objection. In the Doric order the massive triglyphs, which rest on the architrave, offer ample support to the cornice above, and thus the metopes, or open spaces between them, offer most suitable fields for sculptural groups. The architectural frame in this case is even heavier than in the pediment, and so the same conditions we have already noticed apply here with still greater force. The square field practically limits the composition to groups of two or sometimes three figures; and scenes of combat, with their violent motion and angular composition of lines, offer the best contrast to the surrounding architecture. When a third figure is introduced, it is in most cases necessarily cramped, close against the margin of the metope. The favourite subjects for the metopes of a temple are naturally such as may easily be divided up into a number of separate scenes. Such subjects are the labours of Heracles and of Theseus, or the combats of gods with giants or of Greeks with centaurs, which comply best with the necessary conditions, and therefore are most commonly employed. Occasionally we find instances when a single scene is divided between two metopes, as in the combat between Heracles and Geryon on the Theseum; but such a treatment could only be made tolerable by accepted convention, and to this it never attained.

The normal place for the sculptured metopes on a Doric temple is on the outside of the temple—that is to say, above the columns of the peristyle; this is where we find them on the Parthenon and elsewhere. On the Theseum, only the metopes at the front and at the back are sculptured, in addition to four at the east end of the sides. The rest of the metopes at the sides are plain, and were possibly ornamented by painting. But at Olympia the sculptured metopes are not above the

Continuous bands of frieze were also applied sometimes to other parts of buildings; thus the Mausoleum had three such friezes, of which only one can have occupied the normal position in the entablature over the columns, though the exact position of the other two is a matter of conjecture.

In later times panels of relief were frequently inserted in buildings, and in large vessels, in candelabra, etc., for a decorative purpose. The new Attic reliefs¹ were mostly designed for such use, and it was very common to adopt an affected archaistic style for such panels; the stiffness and conventionality of the figures was perhaps felt to bind them to their structural frame, and so to be more appropriate to such a purely decorative use than a free and naturalistic treatment. In fact, we only see in this case a more strict application of the principle which we have noticed in all decorative or architectural sculpture—that such sculpture must not be judged as if it existed for itself alone; but that we must make allowance for its relation to its surroundings, and regard it also as a part of a decorative whole.

(d) *Division of the Subject*

It will be convenient to divide the history of Greek art for the purpose of our present study into six periods, each to be considered in one of the six chapters contained in this book.

- (1) Before 600 B.C. Early influences—Decorative art.
- (2) 600 B.C. to 480 B.C. The rise of Greek sculpture.
- (3) 480 B.C. to 400 B.C. The fifth century.
- (4) 400 B.C. to 320 B.C. The fourth century.
- (5) 320 B.C. to 100 B.C. The Hellenistic age.
- (6) 100 B.C. to 300 A.D. The Graeco-Roman period.

In the first chapter we shall consider the influences prevalent in Greece and in the neighbouring countries during the period which immediately preceded the independent existence of Greek sculpture, and we shall observe the circumstances that surrounded its origin. We shall also seek for the germs which contained in themselves the possibility of so glorious a growth. We shall then proceed, in the second chapter, to see the earlier

¹ See § 77.

stages of development of Greek sculpture itself, from the rude and uncouth images which seem little better than the work of children or savages up to those last struggles with the technique of a difficult art that precede a perfect mastery over the material. This period fitly ends with the date of the battles of Salamis and Plataea; for we shall see how the Persian invasion and its repulse not only supplied fitting themes for the artist, but actually left an open field for the exercise of his art by destroying much of the work of his predecessors. The third chapter will deal with the age of highest attainment, when the sculptor, already competent to express his thought in bronze or in marble, or in yet richer materials, is also inspired by the noblest ideals—the age of Phidias and Polyclitus, when the Greek conception of the highest gods found its most perfect embodiment, and the form of man was rendered in its most perfect type. We shall then see, in the fourth chapter, how a greater delicacy and more refined beauty, with a skill in rendering various passions and moods, marks the period of Scopas and Praxiteles, while academic study and care of execution distinguishes the school of Lysippus. The Hellenistic age, which owes its character to the conquests of Alexander, may be considered to begin with his death in 323 B.C., which is therefore approximately taken as the beginning of our fifth chapter, in which we shall trace the development of Greek sculpture in its new homes in the East. The sack of Corinth (146 B.C.) might perhaps be fitly taken as the beginning of the Graeco-Roman age, to which our sixth chapter is devoted; but perhaps the beginning of the first century B.C. is a more convenient limit, since it is reached, even in some cases a little transgressed, by the later developments of some of the Hellenistic schools. To fix a downward limit for the Graeco-Roman age is not easy; but perhaps some approximation to the date of the foundation of Constantinople, in 324 A.D., may be taken, for the Byzantine age is completely beyond the scope of the present work. So also, for that matter, is the monumental sculpture and portraiture which is especially Roman in character; by Graeco-Roman work is meant that produced to meet the demand of the Roman market for Greek sculpture, while the taste was in fashion—or at least produced under the influences to which that demand had given rise.

It is clear that a continuous development such as is here

traced might be followed both backwards and forwards in a more or less unbroken succession ; but by limiting ourselves to Greek sculpture, we are precluded from pursuing our studies into a region identified with the history or attainments of earlier or later nations ; on these we must only touch so far as they are indispensable to the illustration of that portion of the history of sculpture which is now before us.

CHAPTER I

EARLY INFLUENCES—DECORATIVE ART

§ 1. *Limits of the Subject.*—The necessity of studying the influences which surrounded the origin of Greek sculpture is closely bound up with the question how far Greek art is of independent origin, how far it is derived from earlier sources. Very different opinions may be, and have been, held upon this subject, and the truth, as usual, lies between the two extreme views. Brunn¹ has suggested an analogy which may help us to comprehend the matter aright. "The Greeks," he says, "borrowed the alphabet from the Phoenicians, yet they wrote with it, not Phoenician, but their own tongue. Even so they borrowed from their predecessors the alphabet of art, yet always, in art as in literature, spoke their own language." There is so much truth in this comparison that it is worth following a little more into detail. By the alphabet of art is meant that system of conventionalities which is essential to the translation of natural and living forms into marble or bronze. It is true that the system that must be adopted in sculpture is not so purely conventional as the alphabet, that the relation of art to nature is not in this case of the same arbitrary nature as the relation of alphabetic symbol to spoken sound; but at the same time, it is impossible to reproduce exactly in art the colours and forms of nature; nor even, if it were possible, would it be desirable, unless the object in view were a wax-work show. The treatment of hair and eye, the rendering of various textures, even the position adopted for a statue or the composition of a group in primitive times, all partake more or less of the character of conventions; and although a sculptor of an

¹ *Die Kunst bei Homer*, München, 1868.

advanced school may try merely to reproduce in a permanent material the effect which he sees in nature with his own eyes, he must always be, consciously or unconsciously, affected by the conventionalities adopted by his predecessors. But at a time when the art of sculpture is in its infancy, the difficulties that meet the artist at every turn must often compel him to imitate the conventionalities which he sees in earlier models, of whatever origin ; although he must of course modify and supplement these by his own direct observation of nature until he acquires a style which justifies his claim to have founded a new and independent school of sculpture. Style—which may be defined, in the case of sculpture, as a system of translation by which living nature is reproduced in material and permanent form—must thus be due to an enlargement of convention, as well as to a selection from nature. And while it is in the latter that the true genius of an artist or of a nation shows itself, the former cannot be ignored ; and therefore the sources whence the particular conventions were derived must be taken into account in the historical study of any artistic development. We need not then think it any derogation to Greek sculpture if we trace the foreign influences that surrounded it in its earliest years ; in the use it made of those influences we shall see the promise of that free and perfect development that marks its prime. As F. A. Lange has well said,¹ “the true independence of Greek art lies in its perfection, not in its origin.”

We may admit that the alphabet of art was borrowed by the Greeks from their predecessors ; but the statement that they used it to write their own language from the first still requires explanation. An illustration which is also suggested by Brunn himself will help us. Egyptian or Assyrian wall reliefs are like prose chronicles or inventories, often indeed with poetic or imaginative touches in detail, but intended rather to record facts or to supply testimony to the possessions and exploits of kings and men, than to embody an idea or to present an artistic picture of life or story. Even the space is clearly mapped out with this view, and we miss the symmetry and composition that distinguishes the most primitive Greek works. On the other hand, in Greek sculpture from the first we find the presentation of scenes which are imaginary and typical

¹ *Geschichte des Materialismus*, i. 127 ; quoted in Friederichs-Wolters, p. 12.

rather than records of actual events, and we meet with an attempt to express conceptions and ideas of poetical nature; the artist's imagination is always exercised as well as the manual skill or keen observation of nature in which he may be rivalled by his predecessors. We shall see this tendency in the poetical description of a work of art by Homer, even before Greek sculpture existed; the subjects selected, their arrangement, composition, and conception already show the poetical choice of subject which we shall always find to be characteristic of Greek sculpture. Gods and heroes and mythical scenes may not have been the first subjects which it attempted, but they always offered its chief themes; and the devotion of art to the service of religion influenced, at least in earlier times, both the matter and the manner of its representations.

§ 2. *Egyptian Art*.—The art of Egypt could only have influenced the rising art of Greece at a very late period of its own development; but in order to appreciate its character at this period, some knowledge of its previous vicissitudes is necessary. The best times of Egyptian art, when nature was studied with extraordinary fidelity, and individual character was expressed with the greatest cleverness, go back to an age too remote for us even to realise, probably to about 3000 B.C. After a long period of comparatively uninterrupted development, the history of Egyptian art is rudely interrupted by the rule of the Hyksos or "shepherd kings"—Asiatic invaders who held Egypt for about five centuries, until they were expelled by a national rising in about 1600 B.C. These Hyksos, though they adopted many Egyptian customs, including that of setting up monuments of sculpture, seem to have been of barbarous taste, and to have debased the quality of the sculpture which they employed, while they imported into it mixed animal and other forms which are due to Asiatic symbolism. After their expulsion come the great dynasties of the Ramses and others under whom the Egyptian Empire attained its highest power and influence; under their rule the largest and most imposing monuments of Egyptian sculpture and architecture were erected, but their costly materials and colossal size could not compensate the loss of the freshness and originality which had distinguished the first bloom of Egyptian art. It was during the reigns of these kings that Egypt was repeatedly threatened by the Libyans, who, as we shall see, were helped by Greek allies

who have left traces of their invasion and occupation of the country. After another period of anarchy and confusion comes a second national revival under Psammetichus I. (664-610 B.C.)—a prince who won the rule of Egypt by the help of Greek and Carian mercenaries. We have now actually reached the historical period in the relations between Egypt and Greece; and the later history of these relations, under Psammetichus and his successors, especially Amasis, belongs to the record of later Greek colonisation, and not to that of the primitive influences with which we are here concerned. The Egyptian art of the period of Psammetichus is that with which we have to deal in considering the influence of Egypt upon Greece just before the rise of Greek sculpture. This seventh century work in Egypt is characterised by a fine and delicate style, which contrasts with the colossal monuments of the earlier national revival, and recalls in its treatment the models of the earliest and finest period before the Hyksos invasion. The elaborate and perfect technique of this later Egyptian art, its complete mastery of the subjects it chose to represent, and its system of conventionalities, surmounting or avoiding every difficulty that a sculptor has to meet, were the very characteristics most likely to impress and influence an art like that of Greece in its infancy; for it supplied the “alphabet” of art which the Greek as yet lacked; while its stereotyped forms and lack of new ideas to express were no drawbacks to one who was only embarrassed by the freshness and variety of his own ideas, but was at a loss for the means to express them.

§ 3. *Assyrian Art.*—The art of Assyria, like that of Egypt, could only have influenced Greece at a late period of its own history; but the case here is somewhat different. With the primitive sculpture of the early Babylonian Empire we are not now concerned, except to notice that from it was derived the sculpture of Assyria, already even in the earliest examples that we know showing the character of a highly developed rather than an archaic period. Thus we see even in the fine reliefs of Assurnazirpal from Nimrud, which date from the earlier part of the ninth century B.C., an exaggerated and conventional rendering of the muscles where visible, and an over-elaboration in the ornament of the drapery, which could hardly be expected in any style not in direct succession to some earlier development. From this time onward the sculpture of Assyria continued to

develop in the direction of grace and delicacy of execution, and of a vivid and truthful representation, especially of animal forms, until the reign of Assurbanipal, the last of the great Assyrian kings, whose palace at Nineveh (Kouyounjik) has yielded to the British Museum the reliefs which, if not the finest artistically, are certainly the most striking and characteristic examples of Assyrian art; the magnificent rendering of lions, horses, and dogs in these reliefs has never been surpassed, if equalled, in any sculpture ancient or modern. And it is these very animal forms which were the greater part of the elements borrowed from Assyria by Greece. In this case, however, the means of transmission are not at first easy to see. There was never any direct communication between Assyria and Greece. And although Sargon extended his rule to Syria and Cyprus (721-704 B.C.), and Assurbanipal could reckon even Gyges, king of Lydia, among his tributaries, the explanation of Assyrian influence on Greek art is hardly to be found in political events. The importance of the Phoenicians as intermediaries in this case will be spoken of in the next section. But it must not be forgotten that it was the rich woven and embroidered robes of Assyrian workmanship that were probably of most importance in transmitting Oriental types to the west; and these stuffs may have travelled by many channels. Into them were woven the wild beasts and also the fantastic winged animals that were so extensively imitated; and the decorative forms that ornamented the borders or the field also offered many models that were reproduced in painting or in carving.

If we went beyond the nature of the types borrowed, and asked what was the character of the style which Egypt and Assyria respectively offered to the admiration and imitation of the yet untrained Greek artist, we might well be led into a lengthy discussion. But here it must suffice to quote the admirable paragraph of M. Perrot on this subject¹:—"The Egyptian sculptor simplifies the forms of nature, and sums them up, as it were, in an abbreviated abstract; the Assyrian renders them more at length and in detail. The former seems to see the human body through a fine veil, which hides from his view all accidents of surface and all unessential features, so as to leave visible nothing but the main outlines and the general effect of the contour. On the other hand, the Assyrian sculptor appears

¹ *Histoire de l'Art*, ii. p. 693.

to study nature through a magnifying glass; he emphasises the things that the Egyptian refines away; he observes and exaggerates." It is clear, then, that if the Greek sculptor was likely to learn from Egypt the fixed types and conventional treatment which would help him to surmount the first difficulties of expression, he would also profit by the close observation of nature which is seen in Assyrian works, though joined with exaggeration in the execution; and from Assyria also he borrowed a wealth of decorative forms which he transformed and transmitted in endless variety. How these influences came to reach him must be considered in subsequent paragraphs.

§ 4. *Phoenician Art*.—The art of Phoenicia stands upon quite a different footing from that of Egypt and Assyria. It is important to Greece, not as a source, but as a channel of influence. We shall not have to distinguish the types or motives that were first invented by the Phoenicians, for in almost every case where Phoenician influence can be traced downward into Greek art, it is also possible to trace it back to an earlier origin; but none the less there can be no doubt that Phoenician traders and Phoenician settlements in the Aegean must have taught much of the "alphabet of art" to the Greeks, who borrowed from them also the alphabet of letters.

It is difficult to obtain any accurate or complete notion of the history and attainments of Phoenician art, because of the circumstances under which its products were made and distributed. Unlike other peoples of antiquity, the Phoenicians seem to have worked hardly at all for themselves, and almost entirely for others. Their works of art were not usually made to decorate their own temples or public buildings or private houses, but for purely commercial purposes; they were a nation of traders, and their ships carried to every port of the Mediterranean the carved work and reliefs in metal or ivory or other materials which they produced in such abundance. This statement may be a little exaggerated; but it is a remarkable fact that in spite of careful and scientific explorations, Phoenicia itself has yielded practically no examples of the art of its inhabitants, while every other site explored upon the Mediterranean coasts has yielded more or less rich treasures of Phoenician origin. Cyprus and Etruria, especially, have yielded bowls of bronze and silver with concentric zones of ornament in relief which certainly must have a common origin; and that origin can hardly be sought

elsewhere than in Phoenicia. If so, they certainly are the masterpieces of Phoenician art as now known to us. But these finest specimens can hardly be dated earlier than the sixth century B.C.¹; and therefore, although their period coincides with that of the rise of Greek sculpture, they are already far removed from the age of those earlier arts that we have so far considered; besides this, they belong to a time when direct Phoenician influence was no longer felt in Greece. It is not, however, probable that they differ essentially from earlier products of the same art, made during the centuries in which Phoenicians still had in their hands most of the commerce of the Levant; and the more scanty remnants of earlier periods seem to have the same character. All alike show strangely composite scenes, in which types borrowed from Egyptian or Assyrian art alternate or are mingled in confusion; the result has been well compared by M. Perrot to what is called in chemistry a mechanical compound—one in which the constituent elements do not combine to form a new substance, but remain easily distinguishable, and do not modify their essential nature. Whether there was an earlier, independent Phoenician art² or not is a comparatively indifferent matter to us at present; for it was certainly this composite style which belonged to the art of the Phoenicians who were known to Homer, and who continued to trade with Greece until the markets of the Aegean were closed to them by later political changes.

The exact nature and extent of Phoenician influence on Greece is not easy to ascertain; tradition agrees with other evidence to show that the Phoenicians were not content with trading from port to port, but actually established commercial settlements in the Aegean. The islands of Thera, Rhodes, and others, were certainly occupied by them in this way; the tale of Cadmus and the Phoenician colony he established in Thebes may perhaps be regarded as having some historical foundation; and there are distinct traces of Phoenician settlements at Corinth and elsewhere on the Greek mainland. In the Homeric poems the visits of Phoenician traders are still common; and even if we regard this feature as a reminiscence of the days before the Dorian invasion, it is clear that Phoenician products are familiar to the audience of the poet. But the predominance of Greek colonists through-

¹ Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, p. 67.

² So *ibid.* p. 28.

out the Aegean must soon after this have closed the markets of Greece to Phoenician ships ; and in the time immediately before the rise of sculpture in Greece direct Phoenician influence cannot have been so strong as in the preceding centuries. On the other hand, the Greek colonists in Asia Minor came into contact with other races and kingdoms, which also derived their art more or less from Oriental models, and another channel was opened to those influences which had hitherto been mainly conveyed by the commerce of Phoenicia.

§ 5. *Asia Minor*.—We have seen how the Phoenicians, while they were still masters of the sea, carried the products and the types of Oriental art to Greece. But by the establishment of Greek colonies in the Aegean islands and upon the coasts of Asia Minor, this direct Phoenician influence was almost entirely excluded—and that too at a time when Greece was making its first steps towards the creation of an independent art. On the other hand, the change in the relations of Europe and Asia—begun by the Greek colonies, continued by the Persian wars, and concluded by the conquests of Alexander—must have had a great effect upon the Greeks at this early period of their development ; and it brought them for the first time into direct contact with great dynasties and established civilisations, such as they might have heard rumours of before from the Phoenician traders, but could never have seen with their own eyes. Midas and Gyges, and even Croesus, seem in many ways little removed from the heroes of mythical romance ; but we have the best possible evidence that they were historical kings who were known to the early colonists of Ionia ; and recent explorations have even given us some notion of the civilisation and the art of the kingdoms over which they ruled.

The art of all these kingdoms can be traced now with more or less certainty to a common source, in the works of a people who have left no trace of their history in Greek tradition. To this people are to be attributed many primitive rock-cut sculptures which are found scattered throughout Asia Minor. The most famous of them all, the Niobe of Mount Sipylus, was in all probability originally intended as an image of the great mother goddess known to us as Cybele, whose worship was universal in all this region, though it may have been identified by the Greeks with the mother whose grief was frozen into stone. But the chief centre where monuments of this art have been found is

Boghaz Kevi in Cappadocia, and reliefs with the same strange hieroglyphics have been found in the north of Syria; therefore the art is commonly spoken of as Syro-Cappadocian, and the people to whom it belonged has been identified with the Hittites of Scripture. It is not necessary here to dwell on their early empire, extending into Mesopotamia, or on their great wars with Egypt, at the head of a confederation of peoples from Asia Minor and the Levant, of which Egyptian records inform us; but these facts show the extent of their power, and make it clear that their influence is certainly one that has to be reckoned with, if only indirectly, in the case even of Greece. This Syro-Cappadocian art was itself derived from that of Babylonia and Assyria, though it flourished long before the time to which we must assign the masterpieces of Assyrian art which have been mentioned in the last section. From the Hittite conquerors, who have left their traces even on the west coast of Asia Minor, the less advanced kingdoms of Phrygia and Lydia seem to have derived the character and many of the motives of their art; and Phrygia and Lydia were the first foreign kingdoms with which the Greeks had intimate relations, both commercial and political, and doubtless also artistic, during the great period of their national development.

The Phrygians were a people in some degree akin to the Greeks; the sculptures with which they decorated their tombs are now, thanks mainly to the discoveries of Mr. Ramsay, well known to us. These are of two kinds, at least in the early period which now concerns us — colossal groups of animals, usually a pair of lions, who stand facing one another as guardians over the door of the tomb, and elaborate geometrical designs, constructed upon a chess-board pattern as a basis, but with great variety of composition.¹ We might well doubt which of these two is the earlier; but apart from other evidence, that of inscriptions seems to make it clear that the geometrical decorations are the later. The best known of these is the famous tomb of Midas,² with its inscription in Phrygian language and in characters clearly derived from the alphabet of the Ionian Greeks; it

¹ For Phrygian art see Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. v., and Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, passim; especially "A Study of Phrygian Art," *J. H. S.* 1888-89.

² M. Perrot denies that this is a tomb; he also places the geometrical tombs before those with the lions. But on both matters Mr. Ramsay's arguments seem the stronger. *J. H. S.* 1889, pp. 147-189.

therefore cannot be earlier than the seventh century B.C. To this period, and to the two centuries preceding, all the earlier works of Phrygian art must be assigned. Thus the series of lion tombs belongs to the ninth and eighth centuries before our era. In them we see a very vigorous and spirited treatment of the animal forms, but exaggerated and conventional in the rendering of muscles, as might be expected in an art derived from that of Assyria. The chief importance of this series in our present study lies in its strong resemblance to the lion-gate at Mycenae; and the geometrical tomb-fronts also show a style of ornament which is frequently found in the gold ornaments in the Mycenae tombs; these two facts together seem at first to be a striking confirmation of the tradition which traced to Phrygia the origin of the Pelopid dynasty of the Atridae, lords of Mycenae rich in gold. But the Mycenae treasures, as we shall see, belong to a time some four or five centuries earlier than the Phrygian tombs; and although it might be, and has been, contended that the lion-gate at Mycenae is later than the tombs, even then the difficulty is not removed, for Mr. Petrie has found in a Greek settlement in Egypt, of about 1400 B.C., a lion of gilt wood which once formed part of a precisely similar composition.¹ We must then, without going farther into a difficult subject, acknowledge that Phrygian art shows a further development of types which were known to the Aegean peoples many centuries before. One Phrygian tomb has a relief,² representing two fully armed warriors attacking a monster like a gorgon, which has some resemblance to a work of archaic Greek sculpture; but it appears to be too early for a possibility of Greek influence, and the armour, which is like that of Greeks, is also such as the Carians are said to have invented. But in any case, this relief is unique in its kind, and seems to show a promise of development never fulfilled in Phrygia, which did not for a long time recover from the blow inflicted, before the middle of the seventh century, by a devastating inroad of the Cimmerians.

The art of Lydia has not left us any monuments like those of Phrygia, but all indications tend to show that the civilisation and attainments at least of the ruling caste in Lydia were

¹ Petrie, *Mahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, Pl. viii. 20, p. 15, found with a scarab of Amen-hotep III., 18th dynasty.

² Ramsay, *J. H. S.* 1888, p. 363; Perrot et Chipiez, v., Fig. 117.

similar to those of Phrygia; and upon the earliest coins ever struck—for to the Lydians belongs almost certainly the credit of this great invention—the favourite types, and especially the lions' heads, seem to show a resemblance to Phrygian work. Alyattes and Croesus sent offerings to the shrines of Greece, and especially to Delphi; and Croesus contributed materially to the building of the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus. But here we are in the region of archaic Greek art, and must anticipate no further. The art of Caria is hardly more known to us by representative monuments than that of Lydia; but Carian influence upon Greece cannot be dismissed so lightly, because of the very considerable place assigned to it both by Greek tradition and by some modern archaeologists. Thucydides¹ tells us that the Carians in old times shared with the Phoenicians the occupation of the Aegean islands, and though he mentions as equally historical the empires of Minos and of Agamemnon, he confirms his statement about the Carians by the fact that when Delos was cleared of graves the greater part belonged to Carians, as was shown by their arms and the method of burial. Traces of an early civilisation have been found both in the islands and on the mainland of Greece, which have been assigned to the Carians. The accuracy of this attribution will be considered in subsequent sections; but it may be noted here as very probable that a certain class of very primitive statuettes found in the islands does belong to the Carians—a view confirmed by the discovery of similar figures upon the mainland of Caria itself.²

The most southerly of the peoples with whom the Greeks had to do in Asia Minor, the Lycians, developed an art which is much more nearly akin to that of Greece than those already mentioned: later it fell completely under Greek influence, so that from the sixth century downward Lycian monuments, like the Harpy tomb,³ are commonly quoted as typical specimens of Greek sculpture; and we shall have to recur to them later to illustrate our subject. But there are some few monuments which probably belong to a period earlier than the rise of Greek sculpture; and so far as they may appear to resemble archaic Greek works, this is not due to the influence of Greece

¹ i. 8.

² Bent, *J. H. S.* 1888, p. 82.

³ See below, § 21 (b).

upon Lycia, but to an independent development of similar types and resources. For the sake of completeness, one other Oriental art may be mentioned here—that of Persia. As might be expected, this shows distinct signs of Assyrian or Babylonian origin, though the beauty of its work in enamelled bricks gives it a character of its own. But so far as sculpture is concerned, by the time the fall of Croesus brought Persia and Greece into contact, Greece had far more to teach than to learn.

After this brief review of the artistic influences to which Greece was liable from outside, we must next turn to the lands inhabited by the Greeks themselves, and observe the civilisation and artistic attainments of those who inhabited the mainland and the islands before the time when Greek sculpture began its course of continuous development.

§ 6. *Early Population of Greece.*—We have now obtained some general notion of the artistic influences which surrounded the region where Greek art was later to arise. We have as yet seen nothing of Greece itself, or of the art which it produced in the primitive ages which really lie outside the scope of our study. But before we can rightly estimate the relation of this early art to the sculpture of historical Greece, it is necessary to consider briefly the nature of the early population of Greece, and of the changes it had undergone before the era with which we are especially concerned; we must in fact realise whether we have to deal with other foreign influences, predominant in the land that was later to be called Hellas, or with the ancestors and kinsmen of the Greeks themselves. For Mycenae and its wonderful treasures cannot be ignored in any discussion on the origin of Greek art; and those treasures, whatever theory we may adopt as to the men who made them, are certainly earlier than the Dorian immigration of about 1000 B.C.

It must be acknowledged that the people who inhabited the Peloponnese before the Dorian invasion had just as much title as their successors to the name of Greeks, although they did not call themselves Hellenes. In order to assign to their true owners all the great prehistoric remains in Greece, there is no need to go back, as many have both in ancient and modern times, to any earlier people, whether called Pelasgians or any other name equally lacking in historical authority. The Greeks of historical times knew less than we do of the

state of their country more than 1000 years before their own day, but there is every reason to suppose that the political and social state depicted in the Homeric poems is not far removed from the truth. No one would expect to find historical or archaeological accuracy in such records, and the age of the great dynasties who ruled over the pre-Dorian inhabitants of the Peloponnese was removed by many generations from the poet's own day; but the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were written for the descendants of those who could still remember the glories of Mycenae and Sparta, although they had been driven forth by Dorian invaders to find a new home across the Aegean. Nor were they driven to plant their new colonies amid foreign surroundings. Long before the great period of Greek colonisation, both shores of the Aegean, as well as many of the islands, were already occupied by a people either of Greek race or closely connected with it. If, then, we find during the period before the Dorian invasion distinct evidence that people of a common civilisation, of similar customs, and of common artistic tastes and acquirements, inhabited many of the Aegean islands, and a great part of the mainland of Greece, we shall be justified in regarding these people as Greek; and we need not search for records of aborigines of different race who were afterwards expelled, or of foreign conquerors who monopolised all progress and civilisation. The Homeric poems alone would suffice to show that the Greeks of Ionia regarded the attainments of their ancestors on the mainland as at least not inferior to their own; and even allowing for poetical imagination and the praise of old times, there is probably some foundation of truth in this belief.

§ 7. *Civilisation of Mycenae.*—We have seen that among the population which tenanted the mainland and islands of Greece before the great immigration commonly known as the Dorian invasion, there was scope for very considerable attainments in the arts of war and peace; and although direct historical evidence upon this subject is but scanty, there is enough evidence both in the traditions of the Greeks themselves and in the records of neighbouring nations to show that they had made a considerable advance in both. Powerful dynasties such as that of Minos in Crete, who is said to have won the supremacy of the Aegean, or that of the Pelopids in Mycenae, who led the united Greeks against Troy, are regarded by

Thucydides¹ as affording historical examples of a political power and prosperity such as could hardly fail to imply a corresponding advance in civilisation. And even if we refuse to acknowledge any historical basis for these legends, we must still give credence to the Egyptian record which states that the great invasions of Egypt, by which the Libyans gained a permanent footing in that country for some length of time (1500-1200 B.C.), and repeatedly harassed the national government, owed their success in great part to the co-operation of allies from the west of the Mediterranean—Ionians and Danai, Trojans and Dardanians, among others; the same “bronze-clad men from over the sea” who later, in the seventh century, helped Psammetichus to establish his rule in Egypt. We should know but little of these people who lived in Greece between 1500 and 1000 B.C., and who were of sufficient importance to be feared even by the greatest civilised power of their day, were we dependent upon literary records, whether cut on stone or preserved by the tradition of manuscripts. But fortunately we have of late years gathered abundant information about them from another and a more trustworthy source. The excavations of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ startled the world by restoring to us, if not the bones and the possessions of Agamemnon himself, at least those of the princes of Mycenæ “rich in gold,” of a time very near to that traditionally assigned to the conqueror of Troy; and it seems more than a coincidence that even more perfect specimens of a similar workmanship have been found near Sparta,² the other great centre of the government of the Atridae. Nor is it only in Greece itself that the remains of this rich and powerful people have come to light. At certain towns in the Fayum, tenanted by those foreign allies of the Libyans whom we know to have come from Greece and the neighbouring countries, have been found remains of pottery and other antiquities precisely similar to those discovered at Mycenæ.³ The rich treasures of the Mycenaean graves are thus no longer a mere object of wonder and admiration, an isolated survival from an

¹ i. 8, 9.

² At Vaphio, near Sparta. See p. 60.

³ By Mr. Flinders Petrie; see his *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, and his *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*; also his papers in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* of 1890 and 1891 on “The Egyptian Basis of Greek History,” and “Notes on the Antiquities of Mycenæ.”

extinct civilisation of which we have no other knowledge. The people and the dynasties to whom they belong represent the highest point reached by the civilisation of S.E. Europe during the period between 1500 and 1000 B.C. It is perhaps even possible within this period to notice their advance and decline, until they are overwhelmed by the Dorian invasion.

§ 8. *Art of Mycenæ*.—It may well be asked what is the importance of an artistic development which had passed through all stages of its existence before 1000 B.C. and then practically became extinct, to the history of Greek sculpture, which, as we have seen, cannot be said to take its rise much before 600 B.C. This is a question which will be partly answered in the next section. At present it will suffice to notice certain characteristics of the art of Mycenæ which are of interest in their relation to the later development of Greek art. For, however remote in time, the artists of Mycenæ cannot have been entirely of alien race; and even apart from traditions of form which they may have handed down to their successors, the character and spirit of their work often gives promise of what was later to be known as Hellenic style.

The earliest work of sculpture which exists on Greek soil is the colossal group of two lions which fills the triangular space above the great gate of the citadel at Mycenæ. The lions stand facing one another, their fore-paws resting on a basis or altar above which stands a column.¹ This is a scheme which is frequently repeated in Oriental art, and also in the fine tomb sculptures discovered in Phrygia.² Another example—probably the earliest of the whole series—is upon a gold plaque found in the Graeco-Libyan settlement in the Fayum. We see then that this motive, whatever its origin, was known to the inhabitants of Greece at a very remote period—at least as early as the thirteenth century B.C. And the Phrygian reliefs, which all belong to a later period, about 900 to 700 B.C., cannot be regarded as showing us the models whence the Mycenæ lions were derived, though it may be disputed whether they show us a later survival of the Oriental original, or a type borrowed by Phrygia from Greece. Pausanias says that the Mycenæ lions were made by the Cyclopes from Lycia—a statement which we must consider in § 10. For the present we must be content with the evidence of the sculpture itself. This offers in

¹ *A. Z.* 1865, Fig. cxci. ; *B. D.* 151.

² See § 5.

its execution a marked contrast to the vigorous but conventional treatment of beasts which we see in Assyrian art, and in that of Asia Minor, which is, as we have seen, dependent on Assyria. Nor, again, are they like those mere abstractions of animal form which belong to the Egyptian art of the period. Yet, in spite of the careful modelling and detailed truth to nature which has excited so much admiration, they have a conventionality of their own, not only in their position but in their style. It is enough to observe that it is not yet agreed whether they are meant for lions or lionesses. They are not to be separated from the rest of the Mycenaean discoveries; and although, as we have seen, they cannot be derived from any Egyptian or Oriental models, they are separated by an equally wide gulf of style as well as of time from the earliest productions of Greek art. In this Mycenae art the rendering of some beasts, lions and bulls especially, was not only different from that we find in Greek art, but actually superior to it; so that mere excellence of work is no reason for assuming an affinity that cannot be proved. The relation of Mycenae to later Greek art must be afterwards considered; but the art of Mycenae must first be treated as the distinct and independent product of the people who ruled at Mycenae and elsewhere in Greece before the Dorian invasion.

These lions over the gate stand alone as a work of sculpture among the works of art that belong to Mycenae. The tombstone with ornaments and figures carved upon them show nothing but clumsy attempts to render in flat relief subjects borrowed from works of the goldsmith; they are entirely devoid of modelling, and are of no artistic interest or importance. But it is impossible to pass over the magnificent specimens of goldsmith's work which, if not to be regarded as sculpture on a small scale, at least belong to the kindred art of *caelatura*. The finest of these is offered by the pair of gold cups ornamented with repoussé work found at Bapheion (Vaphio) near Sparta. The design, which is all round the outside of the cups, is beaten up from behind into bold relief, and finished with a chisel in front; the repoussé plates are backed with others, which are plain, and turned over at the top so as to hold in the reliefs; the handles are fixed with rivets. The scenes on the two vases are similar in subject, but show also great contrast. One has a wild scene of hunting, in which wild bulls are being driven into a net secured between two trees; one of them has

FIG. 1.—Gold Cape from Vaphio, near Sparta (Athens, National Museum).

turned upon his hunters and overthrown two of them. The other scene is more peaceful, and represents cattle at pasture, or possibly, as Mr. A. J. Evans suggests, the capture of wild bulls by the help of a decoy cow. The men on these vases show fair power of modelling, though their proportions are very slender, and their muscles are only rendered in a conventional way; the animal forms are far bolder in design, and more accurate in their character and proportions. The bulls, if we allow for one or two contortions similar to those common on the island gems (§ 9), are rendered with wonderful vigour and truth to nature, and by an artist who has all the resources of skill and training at his command: they in no way resemble the often successful but always tentative experiments of an archaic Greek artist; we see here, as in the Mycenae daggers and the other finest products of the same style, the highest attainments of a mature art, not the promising attempts of one that is yet in its infancy. We may be able to trace some links between the art of Mycenae and that of historical Greece, but the two certainly do not combine to form a continuous development, except in the same sense in which the art of the Renaissance may be said to continue and develop that of classical Greece and Rome. The interval of time is not quite so great, but it is still considerable. And what types or traditions were transmitted have to be traced in both cases alike through obscure and indirect channels. What those channels were in the case of that little which survived of Mycenaean art we shall see in the next section.

§ 9. *The Island Gems and Early Bronze Reliefs.*—We have seen how widely the art of Mycenae is separated both in style and in actual lapse of centuries from the first beginnings of sculpture in Greece. We have also seen, in speaking of other influences to be traced in early Greek art, that the interval was by no means unfruitful of artistic works and tendencies among the other peoples of the Levant. But in the case of Greece itself we must give up any exclusive pursuit of sculpture if we wish to bridge over the chasm, and be content with such little help as is given us by other arts. And first we must turn to what is in some sense only sculpture on a small scale, the art of the gem engraver.

A class of gems, easily to be distinguished by their shape, their style, and the subjects which they represent, has been

known for some time as "the Island Gems." These had been found in the islands of the Greek Archipelago, in Crete, and on the mainland of Greece, but not in Asia Minor.¹ Within recent years the numerous examples found in tombs at Mycenae and near Sparta² have surpassed both in number and interest those that were previously known. These gems are proved alike by the subjects represented on some of them and by the circumstances under which they were found to belong to the Mycenaean civilisation. Thus their connection with the art of Mycenae is clearly established. How long they continued to be made we cannot say; but on certain among them, which must almost



FIG. 2.—Argive bronze relief, with Prometheus, Gorgon, Heracles and Geras, and Heracles and Triton, from Olympia (Athens, National Museum). After *Olympia*, iv. Taf. xxxix, Fig. 690a.



FIG. 3.—Heracles and Triton, on an island gem (British Museum).

certainly belong to much later periods, we find figures and even groups of figures which appear to represent mythological subjects, such as Prometheus and the vulture, or Heracles wrestling with Triton, "the old man of the sea."³ Now these very figures and groups are repeated almost exactly upon a series of early bronze reliefs, proved by the forms of letters on their inscriptions to be of Argive origin, which have been found at Olympia⁴ and elsewhere; these bronze reliefs certainly are among the earliest examples of the continuous succession of reliefs and sculptures which belong to archaic Greek art, and they cannot be earlier than the beginning of the sixth century. The same bronze reliefs also borrowed types of

¹ See Milchhofer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, cc. ii. and vi.

² By M. Tsountas; see *Ep. 'Apχ.* 1889, Pl. 10; 1889, Pl. 10.

³ See the illustrations in Milchhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁴ See Furtwängler, *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, p. 92.

Oriental origin, and these borrowed types are still more common upon more primitive bronze reliefs. The most remarkable of these is a plaque in repoussé work, narrower at the top than the bottom, and divided into four fields by horizontal bands. The two uppermost of these fields have purely decorative Oriental types, birds and gryphons; the lowest has a large figure of the winged Oriental Artemis, holding a lion in each hand. But in the third field from the top is a purely Greek subject, Heracles shooting a centaur. Another relief shows a single figure of Heracles shooting; the peculiarity of the technique in this case is that the figure is cut out as well as modelled by repoussé technique, and so is evidently meant to be affixed to some solid background, probably of wood.¹

We shall see later how early Greek sculptors did not usually invent types,² but repeated or adapted those which they inherited from their predecessors or borrowed from foreign nations; at present all that concerns us is to notice that the Argive bronze workers who made those early reliefs drew from a store of types which was also known to the engravers of the island gems; and some early vases found mostly in Italy and Sicily, with stamped work in relief upon them, seem to derive their decoration from the same sources. We see, then, that there existed among the Greek peoples, at some time subsequent to the flourishing period of the Mycenaean civilisation, and previous to the independent development of Greek sculpture, a store of figures and groups which were, so to speak, the common property of the gem-cutter, the potter, and the bronze worker, and which served as models on which each alike could exercise his skill. It is not easy to say what was the origin of these types; but they cannot be traced with certainty to any foreign source, and the nature of the subjects chosen for representation is such that it seems hard to deny that they belong distinctly to Greek art, to the decorative art of a period later than that of the Homeric poems and about contemporary with the Hesiodic;³

¹ A bronze plate, from Crete, representing two men, one of whom carries an ibex, is also cut out; but it has no modelling, only incised lines to represent all details, thus it would have much the same effect as a black-figured vase. Only where one portion is in front of another, as in the arms, the front part is raised.

² See § 18 below.

³ Of course these names are used in their wide conventional sense, without any intention of attributing the *Shield of Heracles*, for example, to the same poet as the *Works and Days*.

for, as we shall see later, the representation of subjects neither taken from daily life nor merely conventional or symbolical, but derived from mythology, is the characteristic which then begins to distinguish the Greek artist. This decorative art we shall have to consider in §§ 11, 12. For the present it must suffice for us to have observed those minor arts which supply a connecting link between two artistic periods so widely separated as those of Mycenae and of the rise of Greek sculpture in the seventh century. So far we have studied this dark interval entirely by the light of the monuments—to give a large name to small things. We must now turn to consider, however briefly, the views held by the Greeks themselves as to the period which preceded their own artistic activity.¹

§ 10. *Mythical Traditions: the Cyclopes, Dactyli, Telchines, etc.*—We have first to deal with stories about purely mythical artists. If we knew more of these stories as they were told among the Greeks themselves during an early period, we probably should have no need to discuss them seriously as evidence for the early history of sculpture in Greece. But here, as elsewhere, the traditions of popular mythology only reach us, for the most part, through the medium of rationalising historians and mythologists, and consequently appear to have more value from the point of view of history, and less value from the point of view of mythology, than they really possess.

In almost all primitive mythologies we meet with tales of creatures, human or superhuman, who possess marvellous strength and skill, and to whom are later assigned various works, real or imaginary, which excited the astonishment and admiration of later generations. The giants and dwarfs of northern mythology were believed to have piled up stones with superhuman strength, or to have wrought metal with magic subtlety. So too in Greece we hear of the Cyclopes, a gigantic race to whom are assigned walls like those of Mycenae and Tiryns; if Pausanias assigns to them works of sculpture such as the lions of Mycenae and a head of Medusa at Argos, he is only

¹ It is impossible to omit all reference to the ingenious theory propounded by Dr. Milchhofer, in the *Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, that Crete was in early times the chief centre of the art and civilisation exemplified for us by the treasures of Mycenae and the island gems. More recent discoveries seem to show that the chief seat of this civilisation was probably in the Peloponnese itself. But until systematic excavations have been carried out in Crete, it is impossible to ascertain exactly the position and influence of that island, which undoubtedly played a very important part in the prehistoric age of Greece.

repeating a conjecture based on the supposition that these popular tales were true. Nor is the story that the Cyclopes came from Lycia of more use to us. A study of the monuments does not indicate a Lycian influence on "Cyclopean" work; and nothing is more unscientific than to reject the miraculous or improbable elements of a myth, and then to use what remains as historical evidence, though it rests on precisely the same authority.

In similar primitive myths, the Idaean Dactyli and the Telchines are the first metal workers; they also deal in magic, and are associated in mystic rites with the Cabiri, the Curetes, and other semi-divine personages. The Cyclopes too are represented sometimes as working in metal, and are later associated with the Greek god Hephaestus, who supersedes all these more primitive metal workers, as orthodox Greek polytheism supersedes—at least in literature—the polydaemonism of popular belief. If we were merely told that the Telchines forged the sickle of Cronus and the trident of Poseidon, or that the Cyclopes forged the thunderbolts of Zeus, no mistake could arise. But later authorities distinctly assert that the Telchines made the earliest statues of the gods; and this statement is probably due to the fact that statues such as those of Apollo Telchinus and Hera Telchinia in Rhodes were known to exist. The fact is that the gods of the Greek Pantheon are here associated with those creatures of popular myth whose worship they absorb and supersede; hence the epithet, which no more refers to the making of the statue than in the case of Athena Telchinia at Teumessus in Boeotia, of whom no statue existed. The Telchines belong to the primitive mythology of Rhodes, and appear also at Sicyon, in Boeotia and elsewhere; the Dactyli—whose name is a puzzle, and may either be the cause or the result of the stories of their artistic activity, or possibly have no connection at all with them—belong to Ida in Phrygia or in Crete: the two are often confused in myth, and certainly are closely associated in primitive history and ritual. The names may have been taken in historical times as symbolising the skill in metal work, perhaps derived from the East, which characterised the early art of Rhodes and Crete. But they certainly cannot be trusted to give us any information which we cannot gain from other sources as to the artistic activity of prehistoric times.

§ 11. *Art in Homer and Hesiod.*—So far we have been concerned either with the scanty remains of early art in Greece,

or with such popular traditions about their origin as have never, until a comparatively recent period, found any recognition from literature. We must now turn to a very different source of information—the Homeric poems;¹ and it is far easier to admire the spirited and poetical descriptions of works of art which we meet in Homer than to appreciate critically their exact value for the history of art. It is with the latter only that we are now concerned; and, in one sense, the very richness of the poet's imagination adds to our difficulties, for we must distinguish between his conception of what he is describing and the work itself which he has seen. This brings us to yet another difficulty. The poet is not a Pausanias, giving a careful catalogue and description of works of art; and one might even imagine that all he describes is the mere product of his own phantasy, having no counterpart in the outside world of his time. To a certain degree this is true; it is not to be supposed, for example, that there ever existed any such shield as that of Achilles in the *Iliad*, with its complicated arrangement of scenes and figures. But, on the other hand, no poet, however great, can be entirely uninfluenced by his external surroundings. Just as his descriptions of natural scenes or objects, though not derived from any particular landscape or thing, must follow nature in all essential features, and must create after the laws of nature, so too in his descriptions of works of art he must follow the character of the art of his time, and reproduce in his mind that style and composition which was adopted by contemporary artists. We may therefore quote the works of Homer as the best authority for the character of the art known in Greece during the Homeric age, though not of course as proving the actual existence of any particular work which he may describe.

If then we may use the Homeric poems as evidence for the state of art in Greece, we have still to consider whether their testimony is to apply to the poet's own time, or to the ages of which he writes. Of course no one would expect archaeological accuracy or research from a primitive poet, and therefore it would at first seem most natural to suppose that Homer's

¹ Homeric criticism is beyond the scope of this work. It is probable, for example, that the shield of Achilles is among the later portions of the *Iliad*; but in any case it belongs to the period between the flourishing days of Mycenae and the rise of Greek sculpture, and that is what it most concerns us to know.

descriptions are based upon the works of art of his own day ; and this is to a great extent the case. But, on the other hand, we must not forget the peculiar circumstances under which the Homeric poems were composed. Without concerning ourselves with disputed points, we may take it as generally agreed that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were designed for an audience of Ionian Greeks, full of glorious memories of the "good old times" when their ancestors had ruled in the Peloponnese ; and that these two greatest of epics were not the first product of a new poetic style, but rather the mature fruit of its development. They have clearly a long tradition behind them ; and just as many grammatical forms and stereotyped phrases form part of the conventional apparatus of the poet, so too we may even suppose that some of his descriptions of works of art may, in their substance, be the reproduction of earlier examples. And, besides this, it is by no means improbable that some heirlooms belonging to an earlier age may have survived to give the poet some hints as to the surroundings of the heroes about whom he wrote. But in any case it is evident that the description of such a work, for instance, as the shield of Achilles is clearly understood by the poet who wrote it, while it remained unintelligible to the Greeks of the classical period, to Roman imitators like Virgil, and to a modern artist like Flaxman, until the genius of Brunn recovered the true explanation. Though Homer may attribute possessions of impossible magnificence to the heroes who were so far superior in every way to his own degenerate day, yet his descriptions must, except when he deals with magic or fairy-tale, refer to objects similar in kind to those which he saw around him, if often exceeding them in splendour.

We may then, after so much consideration, make use of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as evidence for the knowledge and attainments of art in early Greece ; and the first remarkable fact that we notice is that free sculpture is almost, if not quite, unknown. The only real exception is the statue of Athena in Troy, upon whose knees the Trojan matrons lay the robe which they offer.¹ But even this implies no great skill in sculpture ; roughly shaped figures were certainly known in Asia Minor, as we have seen, before there was any such thing as

¹ *Il.* vi. 303, *θήκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἡνκόμοιο*. It seems quite possible that this may be merely a metaphorical expression like *θεῶν ἐπὶ γούνασι κεῖται*, and, if so, one can draw no inference from it.

Greek sculpture;¹ and though it would be rash to generalise from a single instance, we may at least observe that it is in Troy, not in a Greek town, that this statue existed. Homer, by the way, knows nothing of the portable Palladium of later myth, which Ulysses and Diomed stole from Troy, and which was shown at Athens and at Argos. The only other passages that might seem to refer to free sculpture are such as those that describe the golden youths who serve as torchbearers in the palace of Alcinous;² but these clearly belong just as much to the realm of magic as the gold and silver dogs which Hephaestus made to guard the door of the same palace, or the golden maidens who supported the steps of the Halting God when he moved. As to free sculpture, then, the Homeric poems supply us practically with no evidence; and this is just what we should have been led to expect by our knowledge of the art of the period. But, on the other hand, we meet with descriptions of works in decorative metal relief of very elaborate design. The first thing we notice about these is that Homer evidently makes no distinction between Greek and foreign work; he even attributes a bowl given to Menelaus by the king of Sidon to the Greek god Hephaestus. But such works as the brooch of Ulysses, with its representation of a dog pulling down a fawn, or the telamon (shoulder-belt) of Heracles, with its boars and lions, and scenes of battle and slaughter, find their nearest analogy in the island gems and in the early bronze reliefs with similar types; and these, as we have seen, are at least naturalised, if not native, upon Greek soil. The shield of Achilles, on the other hand, shows a far more elaborate and complicated composition, and a greater mass of figures, than we can find any analogy for among the artistic products of early Greece; yet we can hardly deny that the poet must have had some definite conception of the whole in his mind, and that he must have seen some decorative works, which, if not so magnificent as that he describes, must yet have been designed upon the same principle. What that principle is was first pointed out by Brunn. The shield consists of five circular plates, arranged concentrically, but in graduated

¹ *E.g.* the Niobe of Sipylos, referred to by Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 614. See above, § 5.

² These do not seem to suggest sculptural figures used to hold torches, but remind one rather of M'Aulay's candlesticks in the famous story repeated in Scott's *Legend of Montrose*.

sizes;¹ thus, if viewed from above, the whole would have the appearance of a large disc surrounded by four narrow concentric bands; and so there is ample scope for the arrangement of long and complicated groups in these narrow bands. A precisely similar arrangement of reliefs in concentric bands is found upon metal shields and bowls of Phoenician workmanship that have been found in Cyprus, in Etruria, and elsewhere.² These Phoenician works actually date from the sixth century B.C.;³ but the style to which they belong must have existed earlier, and the shield of Achilles, though not so late as this, is yet acknowledged by Homeric scholars to be among the latest portions of the *Iliad*. The technique as described in the shield does not, on the other hand, appear to be that of relief, but rather of metal inlaying or damascening, since differences of colour are often insisted upon. Here we may see an analogy in the dagger blades of Mycenæ; though these are of course far too remote in time to have influenced the poet, a similar technique may well have existed in his time, and it is even possible that some weapons of early manufacture may have survived as heirlooms, or as dedicated offerings, like the famous shield of Euphorbus, which remained to be recognised by him again when re-incarnated as Pythagoras.⁴

When we proceed to consider the scenes themselves, we first notice that none of them are from mythology, but all from actual life. Here we have a contrast to what we know of early Greek art; but it is just like what we find in the Phoenician bowls already referred to of a mixed Egyptian and Assyrian style. Mr. Murray⁵ has shown how all the scenes described by Homer can actually be found upon these bowls or other similar works; and thus by a kind of patch-work from these he has actually produced a shield approximately

¹ Reichel, *Ueber Homerische Waffen*, p. 44, maintains that the shield is of the typical Mycenæ shape, an oval compressed in the middle, and not a circle. But he regards it as probable that the compression in this case is to be regarded as but slight, and does not seriously affect the composition. W. Leaf, *Iliad*, xviii. 478 (note), maintains that the *πρῶτες* refer only to the leather, not to the metal covering, and that the five folds can have nothing to do with the formation of bands of decoration. If so, there is no evidence for the division into five fields, but the general principle of the arrangement must be the same, and the diagram shows how it could be worked out.

² Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. xix.; *Mon. Inst.*, X. xxxi.-xxxiii., etc.

³ Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, p. 67.

⁴ Cf. Horace, *Od.* i. 28, 11.

⁵ *Greek Sculpture*, Pl. i.

resembling that described by Homer. As to the exact arrangement and composition of the various scenes no two modern authorities are agreed. But in the artistic composition and balance of the various scenes, there seems no doubt that the poet was influenced by an imagination far beyond that of the metal workers whose products were before his eyes; and that

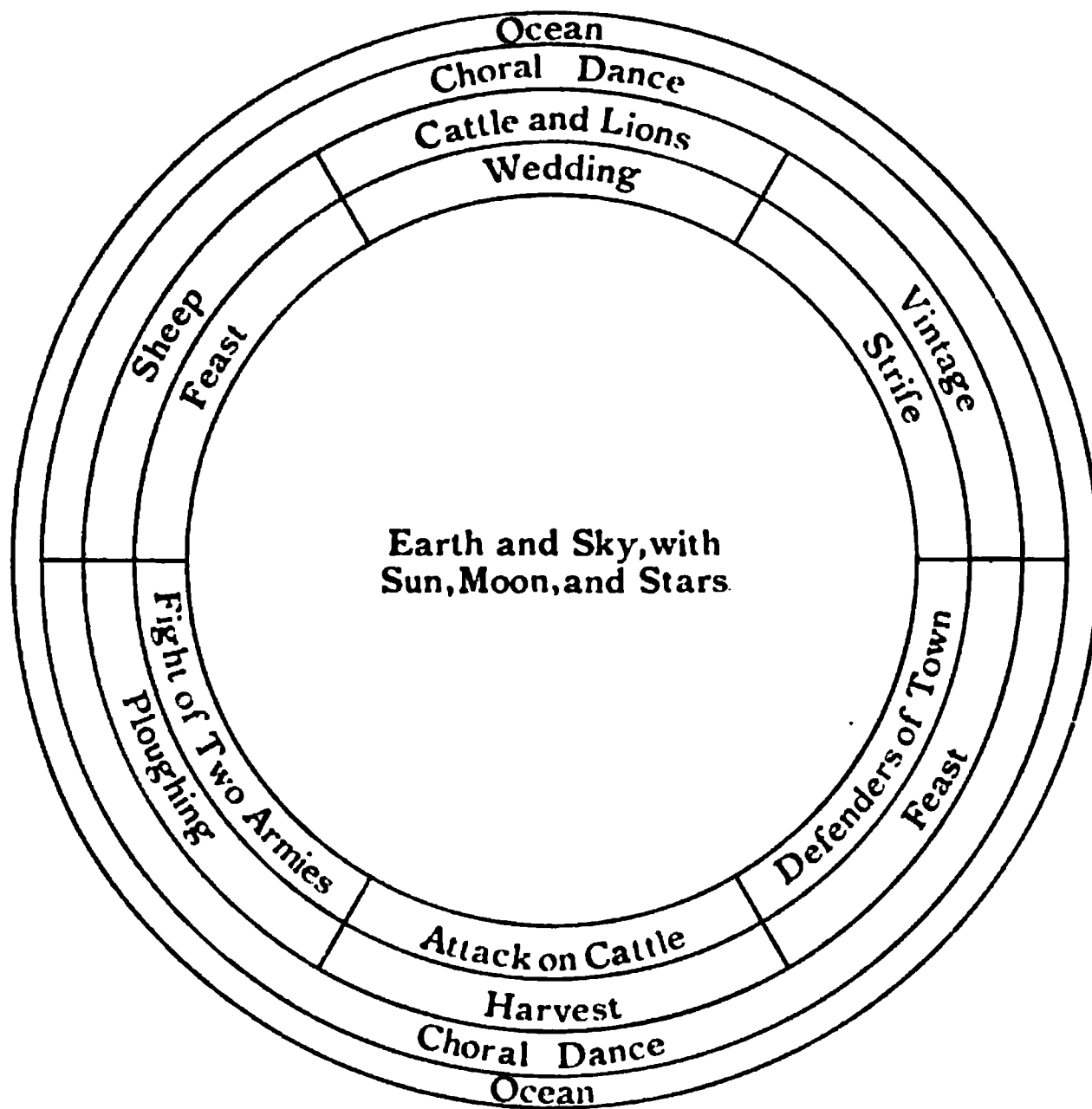


FIG. 4.—Homeric Shield of Achilles.

NOTE.—This is derived from Brunn (*Kunstgeschichte*, Fig. 58), with some modifications. The central disc is made much larger in proportion; and the description, after the end of the second band, is made to return back along the third band, instead of going on in the same direction.

in this sense the shield of Achilles has some claim to be regarded as the first true example of Greek art, even though all the scenes it contains are based upon types of foreign import.

The arrangement of the scenes probably present in the poet's mind may be seen at a glance in the accompanying diagram, which is modified from the scheme suggested by

Brunn. Only here the central disc has been made much larger in proportion, the surrounding bands narrower. The advantage of this alteration is obvious; otherwise it is practically impossible to fit into the second and third circles the numerous figures implied by the description.¹ And the shields or other metal works which are quoted as similar in design usually have bands of decoration as narrow as those which are thus offered. On the inmost of the three bands of figures we see all the varied life of a town in peace and in war; on the next come the various employments of the country; and within each of these main divisions we can trace a symmetry in all the smaller scenes, which seems to give a poetical completeness to the whole. The conception of a composition like this, which seems to illustrate all the phases of human life, balancing them in a system of subtle comparisons and delicate contrasts, is perhaps such as would commend itself to a poet rather than to an artist. And, although the poet's imagination must have been to some extent dependent on what he had actually seen, yet we do not find any trace of an allowance for technical difficulties, or of the use of a conventional type or design to fill a given field, at least on the bands of figures within which the human interest is concentrated.

We already find a great difference in this respect as well as in others when we come to consider the shield of Heracles as described by Hesiod.² This poem is of course to a great extent a mere imitation of the Homeric shield of Achilles; and so far as it is so, it is of little value to us. But it introduces some new elements which are clearly derived from contemporary art, and which serve to establish its position as intermediate between the shield of Achilles and the chest of Cypselus—if we may be pardoned for classifying Homer and Pausanias according to what we can find in common between their descriptions. The whole arrangement of the shield of Heracles is probably to be regarded as similar to that of its model, but

¹ Overbeck, to avoid this difficulty, made the description go from the innermost circle to the fourth, third, second, and then the fifth. Not to speak of the inversion of order, even this does not remedy the awkward shape of the fields provided.

² The name Hesiod is of course used here in the same conventional sense as that of Homer. Whoever wrote the Shield, the artistic innovations which it introduces into the Homeric description seem to belong to about the seventh century B.C.

it does not seem to be clearly thought out and distributed; what correspondence and symmetry we find in it is merely derived from the Homeric shield; in fact, it is little more than a peg on which to hang rhetorical descriptions of various scenes, such as mark a period of epic decadence. Under these circumstances, it does not seem any use to try to restore the arrangement of the whole; even if the poet had such an arrangement mapped out in his own mind, he has given no hints by which his readers could recover it. But we may learn something from the subjects he selects. As well as an unidentified battle scene, we find the fight of the Lapiths and Centaurs; and mythological subjects are introduced, such as Apollo and the Muses and Perseus pursued by the Gorgons. Some of these subjects, too, are among those which are peculiarly adapted to the narrow bands of ornament offered by this style of decoration. For example, the frieze of lions and boars, the long processions or races of horses and chariots, the hare pursued by dogs and men, are schemes that recur again and again both on vases and in relief work. The art from which the poet draws the additions that he makes to his Homeric model has evidently reached the stage at which these schemes have been selected as appropriate; and it has also begun to illustrate Greek mythology, as well as the scenes from ordinary life which continued side by side with heroic exploits. In a work like the chest of Cypselus we shall find mythological scenes exclusively employed; but we can trace on vases and on decorative reliefs the various stages by which types, sometimes from ordinary life, sometimes of purely decorative origin, gradually come to be identified with certain mythological scenes, and to be appropriated to a significance which is probably far removed from that which they originally possessed.

In the Greek epic poems we found hardly any trace of the peculiarly Greek art of sculpture; but we have a series of decorative works, beginning with the shield of Achilles, which seem to reflect the artistic tendencies of their time, and to lead up to the examples which we learn, from the description of Pausanias, to have been actually preserved at his day.

§ 12. *Other Decorative Works.*—We have seen how the poetical fancy of Homer had already imagined decorative works, of which the conception and arrangement seem already to anticipate Greek art, although the technique and the types

which lent definite form to his imagination were probably of foreign origin. It was natural enough that the earliest artists of Greece should apply their efforts to great compositions like the shields of Homer and of Hesiod; and we accordingly find, recorded in Pausanias' description, some great decorative works, such as the chest of Cypselus and the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, which can be restored in imagination, by the help of extant monuments, to a sufficient extent to enable us to judge of their position in the development of Greek art. It is true that neither of these is exactly a work of sculpture, in the narrower sense of the word; it is true also that both of them probably, and one certainly, belong to a period far later than that which we have yet reached; but yet, as Brunn pointed out, they form the culmination of a long series of similar works, which begins with Homer's shield of Achilles, and serves to transmit and to develop many artistic types. They find, therefore, a more fitting place here than in their proper chronological sequence. But for the series to which they belong, we might well be at a loss to bridge over the gap separating the Homeric and Hesiodic descriptions, which imply a very high degree of artistic attainment in certain directions, from the first beginnings of the growth of independent art in Greece.

Many attempts have been made to restore both the chest of Cypselus and the Amyclaeian throne from the description of Pausanias; and there can be little doubt that these attempts are approaching nearer and nearer to the truth, as more and more monuments are discovered which throw light on the types and composition, and as the study of the material already available leads to more definite classification or more certain inferences. At the same time, it is not to be supposed that either the selection of types or the arrangement of the scenes can ever be more than a matter of conjecture, though the limits within which conjecture is confined may be drawn yet closer. This is not the place either to give an account of the various proposed restorations, or to add another to their number.¹ What concerns us at present is merely to take note of some of the results which seem to be established, so far as they concern our subject.

The chest of Cypselus stood in the opisthodomus of the

¹ The last and best restorations are that given by H. Stuart Jones in the *J. H. S.* 1894, Pl. i., of the chest of Cypselus, and that by Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, Fig. 135 (omitted in the English edition), of the Amyclaeian throne; each is accompanied by a full discussion and quotation of earlier authorities.

Heraeum at Olympia; it had probably formed part of the magnificent offerings dedicated there by the Cypselids of Corinth near the beginning of the sixth century. Though the story that it was the identical chest in which Cypselus was hidden when a child is generally discredited, there is no adequate reason for rejecting its association with his family—a connection which is borne out by the character of its decoration. For the nearest analogy to this decoration is to be found in the Corinthian vases of the same period, and on them it is possible to find exact counterparts of many of the scenes described by Pausanias. The field for ornament—either the front of the chest only, or the front and the two sides—was divided into five bands or friezes. Of these the first, third, and fifth—the top, bottom, and middle ones—either form a single scene, or offer two or three scenes which lend themselves to continuous treatment; in short, they resemble an Ionic frieze. The second and fourth bands, on the other hand, fall into a number of isolated and clearly defined groups, which were probably divided from one another by some structural partitions, just as the metopes of the Doric frieze are divided by the triglyphs.

We are not told by what technique the figures in these various scenes were rendered. The material of the chest was cedar; and the figures were wrought partly in ivory, partly in gold, and partly in the cedar-wood itself. This seems to imply a use of relief, enhanced in its effect by the use of inlaid materials—ivory, for instance, was doubtless used for the nude parts of all female figures; and we thus have analogies on the one hand with coloured relief, on the other with the gold and ivory technique which we know to have been practised by the Cretan Daedalid artists and their pupils,¹ whose works were also exhibited in the Heraeum. The subjects, as has been said, can be paralleled most readily in the products of Corinthian decorative art; the Corinthian vases offer us the richest material for comparison, chiefly because they have been preserved in the greatest abundance; but the scanty remains of decorative reliefs in bronze, which are mostly of Argive or Corinthian origin, suffice to show that, were they as numerous as the vases, they would lend themselves even more readily to help in the restoration of the compositions on the chest. At the same time, this Doric influence is by no means exclusive. Many of

¹ See *Introd. (b)* 1; also § 20 below.

the scenes can only be found upon vases of Ionic origin, especially Chalcidian. Nor is this merely the result of chance; for in some cases, where the same scene can be found both on Corinthian and Chalcidian vases, it is the Ionic, not the Doric scheme that is preferred by the carver of the chest. And, in quoting Chalcidian vases, we must remember that Chalcis, no less than Corinth, was a home of early decorative work in metal, and that much of the relief work either in metal or made in clay to imitate metal, which we find in Italy, is due to Chalcidian influence. We see, then, that even in Corinth the influence of decorative Ionic art was strongly felt, both in the types used and in the style in which they were treated. The same close interrelation of early schools is to be seen in the François vase, an Attic work made under strong Corinthian influence;¹ and what is true in the case of the more industrial and decorative arts doubtless holds also in the case of sculpture.

The difference that strikes us most strongly in comparing the chest of Cypselus with the Homeric or even the Hesiodic shield is that the subjects have now come to be taken almost if not quite exclusively from mythology. It is true that they are identified by inscriptions only on the first, second, and fourth bands (counting from the bottom), but we can hardly doubt that Pausanias is right in giving a mythological significance to most of the scenes in the top band also. In the third band, which was continuous and represented scenes of battle and negotiation between two armies, it may be simpler to recognise one of those unidentified battle scenes which are so common on vases, and which are found on Hesiod's shield as well as Homer's. Pausanias' doubt as to its identification proves that there can have been no distinguishing features by which to recognise it; and such a scene, without inscriptions, can hardly be said to represent any particular combat, even if the artist had some such combat in his mind when he made it. But this is the exception; most of the scenes have appropriate types assigned to them, which have become more or less stereotyped by usage; and thus there is gradually being formed a kind of mythological canon, containing the appropriate illustration for every scene. Of course various similar types may act and react upon one another, and new types may be introduced, usually by the modification of an

¹ Benndorf, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888, Pl. ii.-iv.; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Pl. lxxiv.

old one; but it is unusual, though not of course impossible, to find a case in which the artist has ventured upon a quite new scheme, especially if he is rendering a well-known subject. We see, too, how literary influence is making itself more and more felt in art. A work like the shield of Achilles seems more popular and spontaneous in its subjects and their treatment.

			33			32						
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
			18									
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
5				4	3				2		1	

FIG. 5.—Chest of Cypselus.

1. Pelops and Oenomaus.

2. Departure of Amphiaraus.

3. Pelias' funeral games.

4. Heracles and Hydra.

5. Phineus, Boreads, and Harpies.

6. Night, Sleep, and Death.

7. Justice and Injustice.

8. Women with mortars.

9. Idas and Marpessa.

10. Zeus and Alcmena.

11. Menelaus and Helen.

12. Medea, Jason, and Aphrodite.

13. Apollo and Muses.

14. Heracles and Atlas.

15. Ares and Aphrodite.

16. Peleus and Thetis.

17. Perseus and Gorgons.
18. Two armies meeting.

19. Boreas and Orithyia.

20. Heracles and Geryon.

21. Theseus and Ariadne.

22. Achilles, Memnon, Thetis, Eos.

23. Melanion and Atalanta.

24. Ajax, Hector, and Eris.

25. Dioscuri, Helen, and Aethra.

26. Agamemnon and Coön.

27. Judgment of Paris.

28. Artemis.

29. Ajax and Cassandra.

30. Eteocles, Polynices, and Fate.

31. Dionysus.

32. Wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

33. Heracles and Centaurs.

NOTE.—The above is practically a simplified scheme of the restoration by Mr. H. Stuart Jones and Mr. Anderson in the *J. H. S.* 1894, Pl. 1. The two vertical dotted lines serve to divide it into front and sides, if such an arrangement be preferred.

Here the tradition of epic story and the corresponding artistic tradition seem to be drawing closer and closer the bonds of conventionality. It is this fact above all others which proves that in these works we see the last development of a decorative art which, one might almost say in its decadent stage, overlaps in time the rise of the newer and freer art that succeeds it.

The arrangement of the scenes on the chest, which is so clearly described by Pausanias that it can be restored without any room for doubt except as to a few minor details, may be seen at a glance in the accompanying diagram. A comparison of this with the diagram of the shield of Achilles will do more than pages of description to help one to realise the resemblance and also the difference which exists between the two.

The throne of Apollo at Amyclae is another great decorative work for the knowledge of which we are entirely dependent on Pausanias. Here our informant tells us the name of the artist, Bathycles of Magnesia. But his description of the throne is, as he himself says, but summary: we have no clue whatever as to where most of the scenes he mentions were placed, or how they were arranged; nor have we any reason to suppose that his enumeration is exhaustive. Under these circumstances it is impossible for any restoration, however ingenious, to do more than show how the whole may have been arranged.

The statue for which the throne was made was a mere primitive pillar of bronze, about 45 feet high with a head, arms, and feet attached (Fig. 6). The statue stood on a pedestal, the tomb of Hyacinthus, on which were some of the reliefs, representing the deification of Hyacinthus, and on the other sides of Heracles and of Semele. The throne was so placed that it might seem prepared for the god to sit on; but it offered not one seat only, but several. It was supported at the front and at the back by two Hours and two Graces; on the left by Echidna and Typhon, on the right by Tritons. A long band of relief was set round the inside of the throne, under which it was possible to enter; the rest of the scenes were either on the outside or on the back. These groups seem to fall into three sets of nine each, with larger groups in the middle and at each side, and smaller ones intervening; but this arrangement is to some extent problematic, since we must remember Pausanias' express warning that his description is summary: he may only be picking out the more remarkable scenes. The subjects represented are similar in character to those which we find on the chest of Cypselus. Some were evidently introduced by the artist from his Ionic home; others illustrated local myths and traditions. It has been conjectured with great probability that Bathycles was one of the Samian school of sculptors who worked at Ephesus and Magnesia in the time of Croesus, and that his migration to

Sparta was due to the friendly relations which existed between that city and the Lydian king; he may have been sent by Croesus in his days of prosperity, when he sent other offerings to Sparta, or he may have come after the fall of his patron before the Persian invasion. In any case, tradition says he brought workmen with him, whose figures he set on the throne.¹ The date of his work in any case seems to fall considerably later than that of the chest of Cypselus; and we may imagine his sculptures, which were probably executed in bronze relief, to have resembled those on the columns dedicated by Croesus in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.² But the vast number of subjects represented, and the overloading of detail in the whole composition, seem to put this throne into the same class as the decorative works we have just been considering, of which it probably was almost the latest example. It is probable that the temple of Athena Chalcioecus at Sparta, which was also decorated with mythological reliefs by Gitiadas, a local sculptor, was an imitation of the work of Bathycles. If the work of Gitiadas had been already done, it is hard to see why a foreigner should have been called in. But of this and other similar works we know practically nothing.

§ 13. *Daedalus*.—If we were dependent on the later Greek writers for our notion of Daedalus, we might well be led to regard him as a historical character. Pausanias describes many primitive statues in various parts of Greece that were attributed to him, and adds that his works are “strange to look upon, yet have some divine inspiration manifest in them.” From other late authorities we learn how Daedalus was the first to open the eyes of statues, to free their arms from their sides, and to make their legs stride, while his predecessors had left their eyes shut, their arms glued to their sides, and their legs as if grown together. It may be said at once that this is a very inaccurate description of the course of improvement in early sculpture, as we shall see later on. But if we examine the statement in itself, and compare it with earlier references to Daedalus, we shall find that it is merely a selection of the possible from among the numerous marvellous attainments ascribed to him, and a rationalistic explanation of the way they were performed.

¹ The identification of these figures seems very doubtful; but the suggestion that they were represented seems to imply a tradition that the companions of Bathycles formed a distinct body.

² See below, p. 108.

Earlier authorities show no such caution, but tell us that Daedalus made his statues see and speak, and run away unless they were bound by a chain to their pedestals. Here we see the true nature of the story. Daedalus is a wonder-working magician, and performs feats similar to those of the god Hephaestus, with whom he seems even to be identified sometimes. When we follow the name back to the Homeric poems, where, as we have seen, there is no question of sculpture, we find Daedalus mentioned only as having devised a dance—or prepared a dancing-place—for Ariadne in Crete. Now that we have seen the tendency of later times, we are not surprised to learn that this dance came to be interpreted as a marble relief made by Daedalus, and that such a work was actually shown at Cnossus in Pausanias' day.

In fact, the name Daedalus belongs in its origin either to an artificer-god, or to some magician of superhuman power. The word implies skill in all kinds of handicraft, especially in the inlaying of wood, and metal, and ivory. But for some reason which it is not easy to trace, the functions of Daedalus came to be specially restricted to sculpture in later times, and his name served as an impersonation of the primitive sculpture of Greece, and of its advances upon the rude images which were the first representation of gods or men. It is clear, therefore, that the stories about him are of very little historical value, and merely represent the theories as to early sculpture held by later Greek writers; while of the statues attributed to him we can only say that they were supposed in later times to be the works of a very early period.

The one remaining fact in the traditions about Daedalus which is of importance to us is his connection with Athens and with Crete. This tradition is supplemented by the fact that in both places there existed families or guilds who called themselves Daedalids, and transmitted a hereditary skill in handicraft which certainly was applied to sculpture when sculpture became common in Greece. We may recognise here some very early relations between Athens and Crete in art as in other matters; the legends of Theseus and Minos, with which those of Daedalus are associated, all point in the same direction. But such a relation goes back too far to be of much importance for the history of sculpture. There is little trace of the connection, whatever it may have been originally, being

kept up until the time when sculpture in Greece began its course of development.

§ 14. *Early Temple Images and Offerings.*—Many of the sacred temple images in Greece were of a most primitive nature, and went back to a time long before the beginning of Greek sculpture. Thus we hear of unwrought fetish stones and trunks of wood as being preserved in a temple as the symbol of the divinity; and probably many of the early *ξόανα*, though they may have shown some rude attempts at anthropomorphism, are hardly to be regarded as works of sculpture. Thus the Apollo at Amyclae had, as Pausanias expressly tells us, no artistic character; it was a mere column of bronze, with a head, hands, and feet attached. This unsightly colossus was

FIG. 6.—Apollo of Amyclae, from a coin of Sparta.



FIG. 7. Primitive statue on throne, from a coin of Aenus.

later hidden by a sculptured throne or screen; and a similar process was adopted with greater ease for smaller images, which were often either enveloped in drapery or covered with branches, so as to escape the eyes of those who might otherwise have found it difficult for their religious reverence to counterbalance the artistic defects of the object of their worship.

Where the temple image was of this sacred yet uncouth nature, we might reasonably conclude that there was not much room for the art of sculpture to render its services to religion. And this conclusion is to a great extent correct. For a long time the Greeks must have remained content with these primitive symbols of their gods, and there is no sign of any need of a worthier representation of divinity arising from religion, until art had already asserted its capacity to render "the human form divine" in a more adequate manner. So soon, however, as this was the case, art was immediately enlisted in the service of religion; and we should miss entirely the spirit of Greek sculpture during its earlier period, if we failed to realise that almost every work which it produced was in one way or another intended for religious dedication.

But the primitive fetishes were not at once discarded to make way for more artistic representations of the deity. In many places they remained even until later times as the chief

objects of worship. And although in many cases a more adequate representation of the god was set up in a conspicuous position, while the primitive fetish remained hidden in the sacred obscurity of the inmost shrine, even this kind of substitution is not often recorded in the earliest days of Greek sculpture, but more frequently towards the middle or end of the archaic period. Thus the statue of Apollo at Delos was by Tectaeus and Angelion, whose date is uncertain, but cannot be very early; that of Apollo at Branchidae near Miletus was by Canachus of Sicyon, and belongs to the beginning of the fifth century. The Athenians were content with the primitive Xoanon as the representation of their patron goddess, down to the time of Phidias; and even after his great chryselephantine statue had been set up as a worthy embodiment of Athena in her own Parthenon, the old image was still retained in the Erechtheum, and was the actual centre of the most sacred religious ceremonies of Athens. On the other hand, it must be recorded that when the Cretan sculptors Dipoenus and Scyllis brought their new art to the Peloponnese, the state of Sicyon gave them a public contract for statues of some of the chief gods, which may well have been intended for temple statues, though this fact is not recorded about them; and the descriptions of Pausanias seem to show that some at least of the early temple statues which he describes belong to the most primitive period of Greek sculpture.

In the case of the temple statue, however, the spirit of religious conservatism must always have been predominant; we hear, for example, how even in the fifth century Onatas was obliged to reproduce the uncouth horse-headed monster which served to represent Demeter at Phigalia.¹ The sculptor's work in the service of religion would have been extremely limited in its scope had it been confined to these chief objects of worship. But no such restrictions existed, or they existed in a much milder form, in the case of the numerous statues dedicated to the god within the sacred precinct, often within the temple itself. The extraordinary number of these offerings both in earlier and in later times has already been referred to (Introduction (a), p. 5). An illustration from a minor site will help us to realise this fact. At the temple of Aphrodite at Naucratis, which was violently destroyed by the Persian

¹ See § 26, p. 198.

invasion of Egypt in about 520 B.C.,¹ there were found fragments of a great number of statuettes, varying in types, material, and size, which had all been dedicated to the goddess;² and every local shrine in Greece would probably have yielded a similar treasure, if circumstances had suddenly destroyed its contents to preserve them for our discovery. We have seen that the same is the case, only on a larger scale, at Athens, where the destruction was also due to the Persians, and took place about forty years later. A shrine like that of Olympia, which underwent no such sudden destruction, cannot give similar evidence; but here too the pedestals of early statues, as well as the small votive offerings that have been buried accidentally in the soil, show a similar wealth of dedications in early times.

The nature of these dedicated statues, and the types which they reproduced, must be considered later (§ 18). All we are here concerned with is to notice their number, and the varied scope they gave to the artist, who, while working in the service of religion, could allow himself a freedom to do his best, whether in imitation of foreign models or in the exercise of his own skill and imagination, such as he could never have attained had he been chiefly concerned with making temple statues for the worship of the people. It was only when one of these sacred and often uncouth images had been surrounded by numerous works of sculpture, which contrasted by their excellence with its rude simplicity, that a more artistic embodiment of the divinity was allowed to take its place; and even then religious conservatism restricted the sculptor within narrower limits than were necessary in the case of a mere dedication. It was only after art had vindicated its position as the handmaid of religion that it was allowed to approach the most sacred things; and even then it had to submit to the religious ideals that were already established and sanctified by popular worship, at least in the sixth century. We shall see later how in the fifth century the sculptor went beyond all these conditions, and became a leader rather than a follower in religious thought; but this was a position that was not attained until many generations of service had led to mastery.

¹ *Naukratis*, II. cc. iv. and vi.

² Similar discoveries have been made upon many local shrines in Cyprus; but here the question of date is so difficult that we cannot safely quote them in illustration of early Greek art.

§ 15. *Changes in Greece before 600 B.C. : Later Means of Foreign Influence.*—In the last few sections we have been concerned with those facts or traditions that belong to the earliest days of historical Greece, before any independent development of Greek sculpture, but later than the Dorian immigration. The immediate result of that great change in the political, social, and racial conditions in Greece was two-fold in its influence upon the nascent art of Greece, and in its action upon the foreign influences which were then paramount. The invasion of the comparatively rude and uncultivated Dorians expelled or extinguished the already decadent civilisation of Mycenæ; and at the same time it closed the ports of Greece to those Phœnician traders who had enjoyed free commercial intercourse with the earlier inhabitants. At the same time those who were expelled, drawing a new stimulus from their change of soil, seem to have established more completely than before the Greek ascendancy over the islands of the Aegean and the coast of Asia Minor, driving the Phœnicians farther west to find in Carthage a new centre for their prosperity and power. Then the Greek colonies, spreading from Cyprus to Sicily, and from Egypt to the Euxine coast, brought the Greek into contact with the barbarian, whether more or less advanced than himself in art, under a new character. He no longer was visited in his home by the trader bringing wares from unknown lands, but he himself had the advantage of the traveller over those who receive his visits. It no longer was a rare distinction for a man that

πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστυα καὶ νόον ἔγνων,

and the intelligence of the artist, as of all others, must have profited by the change.

The various peoples of Asia Minor, with whose art the Greek colonists must have become familiar during this period, have already been considered (§ 5); and we have seen that they afforded a direct channel by which earlier Oriental influences could be transmitted to Greece. But we have not yet sufficiently noticed the conditions under which the Greek artist came into contact with these influences in the outposts of Greek civilisation to the east and south, in Cyprus, Rhodes, and the African colonies of Cyrene and Naucratis. Cyprus has in all

ages been readily receptive of foreign influences, as it has also been an easy prey for foreign conquerors or colonists. Its lack of political independence is matched by an equal lack of artistic originality; and its receptiveness for foreign models is joined to a conservatism of type and style which is both useful and puzzling to the student of Cypriote art—useful, because it has preserved to us numerous examples of the artistic types which offered models to the earliest Greek sculptors, and puzzling because the mechanical repetition of those types down to much later times often makes it impossible to infer with confidence the actual date of what may at first sight appear to be a very early specimen. In Cyprus also we find most prevalent the practice of filling every shrine with a crowd of dedicated statues; and we have already seen (§ 14) the influence of this practice upon the development of Greek sculpture. The numerous examples preserved of types based upon Egyptian or Assyrian models, or on a mixture of the two, afford us a very fair notion of the foreign influences that surrounded the sculptor in early Greece.

Rhodes, with its striking originality and wealth of artistic design, occupies a very different position from Cyprus in the history of Greek art; but it is in the art of pottery that the attainments of Rhodes are most remarkable, and such specimens of primitive sculpture as have been found there do not differ essentially from those which abound in Cyprus, although we do not find in Rhodes that conservatism of type which we have noticed as being at once valuable and confusing. An island which exercised so wide an influence upon the pottery of Greece cannot have failed to influence sculpture also, especially when moulded vases and terra-cotta statuettes offer a series of links between the two sister arts. Naucratis again, which in pottery is directly dependent upon Rhodes, though its local fabrics reached a very high perfection, offers a similar series of dedicated statuettes; so similar, that one is forcibly reminded in looking at them of the primitive statuette which Herostratus brought from Paphos in Cyprus and dedicated at his native town of Naucratis.¹ But we must remember that Naucratis was the only town in Egypt open to Greek traffic during the sixth century, and therefore that it must have been concerned in whatever direct transmission of

¹ Athenaeus, xv. 676.

Egyptian types to Greece we can discover during that period. To this fact we shall have to recur (§ 20). The colony of Cyrene, which is also best known for its pottery, may perhaps claim some share in this transmission; but the vast space of desert between it and the shrine of Ammon must always have impeded any very close commercial or artistic relations.

We thus see that while the direct influence of the two great national arts of early times must have been strictly circumscribed, their indirect influence may well have been very great; and this quite as much through the outlying Greek colonies as by the intermediation of any other people.

While these were the foreign relations of Greece during the period immediately preceding the rise of Greek sculpture, the political and social developments at home were no less remarkable. The rise of the tyrants on the one hand, and the foundation and gradual growth in importance of the national games on the other, must be reckoned among the conditions that prepared the way for a rapid spread and development of sculpture. The names of Phidon, of Cypselus, and of Pisistratus—to mention no others—are associated with inventions or dedications that form prominent landmarks in the early history of art. And it was only to be expected that an intelligent and cultured tyrant would be more likely to offer facilities to those who practised an art still in its infancy; though doubtless, as we shall see later, the highest products of Greek sculpture owed the conditions that made them possible to the pride and aspirations of the whole people. The growth of such feelings as these was fostered by the great national games and festivals of Greece, which also had a more direct influence upon sculpture; the athletic exercises which they encouraged supplied to the sculptor at once the models and the subjects for the exercise of his art, while the sites of their celebration were the places where his masterpieces were exhibited and dedicated.

From the custom of later times, we generally think of the four great athletic festivals as pre-eminent in Greece. But although they had acquired this position by the end of the sixth century, in the earlier time with which we are now concerned the case was different. The regular celebration of the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games was not dated back even by tradition beyond the early years of the sixth century, although in each case a far earlier mythical origin was claimed.

The continuous dating of the Olympiads of course goes back to a much earlier period; but even here it seems probable that the national or Pan-hellenic character of the festival was greatly developed in the sixth century, under the influence of Pisistratus and other enlightened leaders of the day, who already foresaw the struggle with barbarism and the need for that consciousness of Greek unity which alone could give safety to Hellas. Delphi, as the seat of the worship of Apollo and his oracle, was perhaps of even wider influence in this early period; and the great Ionian festival of Delos, as portrayed in the Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo, was at its zenith in the eighth and seventh centuries before our era. At Olympia, Delphi, or Delos were dedicated many of the chief recorded examples of archaic art, and to these we must also add Athens, where the Panathenaea under Pisistratus had become something more than a local festival, and were remodelled after the manner of the other great national games to attract competitors from all parts of Greece—with what success is shown by the Panathenaic prize amphorae that have been found at Cyrene and in Italy. With the direct influence of athletic contests upon sculpture we must deal in a later section; here we note them rather as a historical and social condition, determining the character and direction of the new attainments of sculpture in Greece.

§ 16. *Summary.*—We have now seen something of the artistic influences which were prevalent in Greece and in the neighbouring countries during the period which preceded the rise of Greek sculpture; and however unique and independent we may find the art of Greece in its most characteristic attainments, we have learnt to recognise that it owes much in its origin to its predecessors. The great civilisations of Egypt, of Assyria, and of Asia Minor, each with its own artistic character, had arisen and fallen into decadence; and each in its turn had enriched the material at the disposal of the artist by a number of types and conventions, based ultimately upon the study of nature. These types and conventions, transmitted partly by means of woven stuffs, partly by decorative work in metal and other small objects, such as could be exported, and partly also by more direct intercourse, came to be regarded more or less as the common property of the artist, whatever his nationality; sometimes, as in Cyprus, he never got beyond a mere mechanical

repetition and combination of these various elements, without ever rising beyond them, so as to create a style of his own. But in Greece there had already been signs of artistic promise, which showed that there was no fear of such a lifeless adoption of foreign products. In the golden age of Mycenæ, there had been a civilisation in Greece of sufficient power to make itself felt even by the powerful Pharaohs of Egypt, then in the zenith of its prosperity; and this civilisation had been accompanied by an artistic attainment not due solely to the influence of Oriental models, but apparently of independent origin. The people to whom this art belonged were probably of Greek race; but they had to give way before the immigration of their more vigorous kinsmen from the north, commonly known as the Dorian invasion. After this change, they left behind them little of their art in Greece, except a few types which were preserved on gems or other small objects; and their successors did not for a time show any promise of rivalling them in artistic excellence. But when, after a long interval, art did begin once more to flourish upon Greek soil, it was marked by a yet closer study of nature in detail, by a vigour and conciseness of work beyond anything that had been seen in the earlier ages. The poets had already given definite form to mythological conceptions, which only awaited the adaptation of the traditional types. And although the images of the gods, as worshipped in their temples, still retained for some time their primitive and inartistic character, the custom of surrounding them with dedicated offerings gave more scope to the sculptor. We shall see in the next chapter the use which he made of his opportunity.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF GREEK SCULPTURE—600-480 B.C.

§ 17. *Character and Limits of the Period: Possible Subdivision.*
—Hitherto we have been concerned for the most part with the foreign influences which were prevalent in Greece before the sixth century; or if we have in a few cases seen the work of a Greek artist, he has been an apt pupil of foreign masters or a clever imitator of foreign models, rather than the originator of new types or the author of an independent work of art. Nor was any exception offered by the first rude symbols of deities which were preserved as objects of worship by the Greeks even until later times. For the most part these have no claim to be considered as works of sculpture at all; or, if they have, they do not belong to any original artistic tendency in Greece. We now enter upon a period when this is to be changed; when the primitive attempts of the Greek sculptor, however rude and uncouth in appearance, yet show the beginning of that development which was to lead to the works of Phidias and Praxiteles, and when their chief interest for our study lies, not in their relation to the past, but in their promise for the future. It is not possible to fix any exact date at which this change takes place; but the earliest Greek sculptors of whom we hear from literary tradition do not belong to a period earlier than the beginning of the sixth century, and the inscriptions which are found upon some of the most primitive statues do not seem to indicate an earlier time. We may then take 600 B.C. as a convenient date for the beginning of the rise of Greek sculpture, while admitting that some works made before that date may have anticipated the progress which then began its continuous and rapid course.

The lower limit of the period with which we are concerned in the present chapter may best be fixed at the time of the Persian wars. There are two reasons why this, perhaps the greatest event in Greek history, forms a prominent landmark in the history of sculpture also. In the first place, the total revolution which was produced in the relations between Greece and the East by the destruction of the Persian army led, as we shall see, to many new artistic tendencies; and, in the second place, the actual sack by the Persians of sites such as the Acropolis of Athens led to the burial of many works of art which give us, when recovered, an excellent notion of the sculpture of the period immediately preceding. We have, therefore, a landmark which circumstances enable us to fix with exceptional accuracy; and it offers a good lower limit to the period of the rise of Greek sculpture, which may be made to contain all pre-Persian work—to use the words as an inaccurate but convenient equivalent for all that was made in Greece before the date of the Persian wars.

It is customary in histories of sculpture to divide this period into two, making the division at about 540 B.C. Before this date comes what is called the age of new inventions, after it the age of development. There is, however, no definite line of demarcation which can be drawn between the two either at this date or any other; the development, once begun, was continuous and unbroken; and even the more plausible assertion that sculpture left its old centres and found new ones at about this time does not bear critical examination. It is true that the places to which tradition assigns, for the most part, the first beginnings of Greek sculpture, are not those which carry on its development down to the close of the archaic period. But, on the other hand, we have good reason to believe that all those places which are known to us as the centres of later artistic activity began to have local schools of sculpture at a date not far removed from that of the first recorded beginnings of Greek sculpture, and certainly long before the division of periods above referred to. It therefore seems best, after a brief sketch of the actual and traditional origins of sculpture in Greece, to proceed to a sketch of its spread and local development without further subdivision of the period. The more influential and important local schools can then be treated separately, and their chief tendencies and most distinctive products can be described with more detail.

§ 18. *Inherited and Borrowed Types*.—We have already in the last chapter seen something of the sources both at home and abroad from which the early Greek sculptor derived the types upon which he first exercised his skill. We have seen also that our appreciation of the originality and perfection of Greek art in its highest attainment need not prevent our recognising the fact that these rude types, out of which the noblest forms of Greek art were gradually evolved, can in most cases be traced back to an origin which is not Greek. We must now consider more in detail the nature of the types, and notice the use that was made of them by the earliest Greek sculptors, and the direction in which they underwent gradual development. And for the present we must confine ourselves to simple sculptural types—that is to say, to single and independent figures. We have already, in § 9, made some reference to the traditional preservation and repetition of certain groups or compositions, but these were upon gems and reliefs; and to consider them in detail, with the illustrations offered by vases and other antiquities, would alone require a special treatise of very considerable dimensions. The following list even of sculptural types is not of course exhaustive; from the earliest times we may meet with occasional deviations, and even with such originality as to lead to the creation of a new type; but the great majority of early works of sculpture in Greece will be found to fall easily under one of these classes.

(a) *Non-descript draped type, standing* (cf. Fig. 14).—This description will apply to most of the rude statuettes, mostly without any pretension to artistic merit, that are found in such numbers on any early Greek site, especially in Cyprus, Rhodes, and Naucratis. It might even be possible to include also the primitive terra-cotta idols that are of still earlier date, and of almost universal distribution; but I doubt whether any direct development from these can be traced in the period of Greek sculpture with which we are here concerned. The usual material for the early statuettes is a rough soft limestone, a very easy substance to carve. There is little attempt at modelling, beyond the indication of the limbs and features. The arms are either close to the sides, or rest on the breast, or the two positions are varied for the two arms, but in any case they are not separated from the body; the lower part of the figure is either round or rectangular, more often a combination of the two, flat at the

back and rounded in front; out of the shapeless mass of the skirt the feet project at the bottom, set close together side by side. The head-dress is almost always an imitation of some foreign model, whether the Egyptian wig or the Assyrian *frisure* or the Cypriote cap. The drapery is usually a solid mass without any rendering of folds or texture, much less of the forms beneath; the edges of separate garments are merely indicated by incised lines. I purposely describe this type in its simplest form; doubtless it might be possible to find in various examples that might be assigned to it some trace of most of those improvements which we shall notice in the more advanced types derived from it. So far, however, as these improvements are introduced, we must regard them as deviations from the type, usually in the direction of those more advanced types which follow it in our enumeration.

(*b*) *Draped female type, standing* (cf. Figs. 28-30).—This is a type in which it is easy to trace a continuous and uninterrupted development, beginning with statues or statuettes hardly distinguishable from our type (*a*) except in a rough attempt to indicate the sex and to imitate the nature of female drapery, and leading up to works of transitional period, already showing a promise of the finest attainments of Greek art. The developments in detail may be readily described. The left foot is almost invariably advanced, but both soles rest flat upon the ground. The arms are at first fixed close to the sides; then one or other is placed across the breast, but still in no way detached from the body; the next step is to raise one or both from the elbow, thus causing them to project freely, the free parts being often made from a separate block and inserted. The treatment of the drapery in this type clearly offers the widest field for development. At first it is a solid mass, with no character of its own, and no relation to the limbs it covers. Gradually both the texture of the material and a careful study of the folds occupy the artist's attention, until towards the end of the archaic period we find an extreme delicacy and complication in the drapery which almost amounts to affectation, and from which we find a strong reaction to simpler forms in the fifth century. At the same time the modelling of the body itself is more and more considered, and the drapery, if not subordinated to it, is at least made to follow the forms of the body, and to avail itself of them for graceful and pleasing arrangement of folds. So too,

in a less degree, with the treatment of the hair, which tends to become less conventional, but more elaborate, until simplicity comes in with the finest period. The treatment of the face, and of other nude parts, progresses at the same time as in the next type (c), but more rapidly, since the forms of the body are covered, and thus the face, hands, and feet are the only parts where the sculptor has scope for the exercise of his art in rendering the human figure. Where the field of his activity is strictly circumscribed, he naturally shows a more accurate study of detail within the set limits.

Male draped figures are not unknown in the early period of art, but are comparatively rare. The same remarks will apply to them as to similar female figures, except that we should not expect the same delicacy and grace in the elaboration of the drapery.

(c) *Nude male type, standing* (cf. Figs. 15, 20, 23, 24).—This type, of which the examples have often been classed together, sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly, under the name *Apollo*,¹ is the most characteristic of early Greek art. It is, indeed, one of which we must assign the invention to the Greeks themselves, and to the Greeks of the period when sculpture was beginning to develop; for the nudity of this type, as of the Greek athlete whom it so often renders, marks an essential distinction not only between Greek and barbarian, but also between the Greeks of the highest time of social and political development and their ruder ancestors. Thus we hear² that waist-cloths were not discarded in the foot-race at Olympia until after the 15th Olympiad (720 B.C.), while Thucydides³ says that the custom of athletic nudity was introduced universally only shortly before his own day, chiefly under Spartan influence, and that waist-cloths were still retained by some foreigners, especially Asiatics, in contests of wrestling and boxing. Plato, too,⁴ quotes this matter as an example of the change of convention by which what seems laughable to one

¹ This name "Apollo" has been retained throughout the following sections to describe the various examples of this type. It is now familiar, and is sometimes correct; and there is in hardly any case the material for a discussion whether this god or another, or perhaps a human worshipper or athlete, is the subject of the statue. I must ask the reader to bear this note in mind whenever I use the name.

² See Boeckh, *C. I. G.* 1050, where authorities are quoted and discussed.

³ Thuc. i. 6.

⁴ *Resp.* 452 D.

generation becomes usual in another. We have no illustration of this change of feeling in sculpture; in the earliest Greek statues the nudity is already usual and complete; though if we go back a little farther, we find the use of waist-cloths not uncommon on some classes of early vases.¹ Thus we have a striking confirmation of the view that the history of sculpture in Greece does not begin before the end of the seventh century. Upon early sites where statuettes of our type (*a*) are common, a few examples of these nude male statuettes may be seen;² and the direct and continuous development from them to the "Apollo" statues and athletes of the early fifth century is just as easy to trace as in type (*b*). We find the same fixed position of the legs, with the left foot advanced, and the same varying position of the arms, as in type (*b*); and in other respects the progress follows similar lines. But in the nude male statue, which was especially developed under the influence of athletic competitions and dedications, it is the treatment of the body which mainly occupies the sculptor's attention; and it is in the careful study of nature, in the comprehension of the position and relation of bones and muscles, and in the gradual approach to a truthful rendering of the proportions and the structure of the human body, that we may see most clearly in early times the superiority of the Greek to all others who had practised the art of sculpture before him. And it was by mastering thoroughly and conscientiously all these details, and striving to reproduce them with the utmost accuracy and severity, that the Greek sculptors gained that training which fitted them in the fifth century to express the highest ideas and to attain the greatest dignity of style, though we must not forget the grace and delicacy of execution which the development of the female draped type had called forth. We shall see in subsequent sections to what local schools we must assign the chief attainments in either branch, and also how it was a combination of the two, and a reaction of the one upon the other, that characterised the beginning of the finest period.

The nude female type may be dismissed very briefly; though a few examples occur in early statuettes, they are all of Oriental origin and significance, and led to no Greek development. This type is indeed of extremely rare occurrence in Greece until the

¹ E.g. *Naukratis*, ii. Pl. xi. 2.

² E.g. *Naukratis*, i. Pl. i. 1, 3-5; ii. Pl. xiv. 13.

fourth century. To the Oriental mind, nudity and indecency are inseparable. It is entirely otherwise in Greece, but only for men. Women are almost always draped in sculpture, so long as it retains its severest dignity, and presents only subjects that may be observed in daily life, or ideals that seek their expression in the types derived from such observation.

(d) *Male and female seated type, draped* (cf. Fig. 8).—It would be possible to subdivide this type in the same manner as the standing one, but little would be gained in clearness by such a proceeding. It will suffice to say that this type also develops gradually from a mere block, made, as it were, in one piece with the chair on which the figure is seated, and so enveloped in square masses of drapery that the forms of the body and limbs are entirely concealed, to a statue in which the bodily forms may be seen through the drapery, in which the drapery is rendered with careful study of its texture and folds, and which seems not of one piece with its chair, but looks "as if it had sat down and could get up again." In details, such as the arrangement of the arms, at first resting along the knees, later raised from the elbows, we may notice the same change as in the other types. We shall see that this type was of very wide distribution, and was used by almost all schools of sculpture in early Greece to represent both gods and men.

(e) *Winged figures* (cf. Fig. 13).—So many winged figures in what is meant for the rapid motion of flight have been found in various regions, that it seems worth while to include them under a separate type. It is clear that such a type as this offers plentiful opportunity for variety, from a stiff and conventional pose to a graceful study of flying drapery in motion. This type we find both male (sometimes nude) and female; its significance varies; in earlier times it may, where its purpose is not purely decorative, be meant to represent the winged Artemis, or a corresponding male divinity, in direct imitation of Oriental models; later it develops into the types of Victory and Eros. And although the figures are of a different nature, the representations of sphinxes, harpies, and sirens so common in early Greek art show a similar treatment of the wings, and are doubtless derived from a similar source.

If we examine any list of works of sculpture preserved from the earliest period, such as may be compiled from Overbeck's *Schriftquellen*, we shall find that almost all the examples

may readily be classed under one or other of the types just mentioned—statues of Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, the Graces, priestesses, and so on, under type (*b*); statues of Apollo, Hermes, athletes, etc., under type (*c*); while seated figures of divinities or men fall under type (*d*). So, too, with extant monuments; if we consider only free statues in the round, not architectural sculptures or reliefs, we shall find very few early works in our museums that do not belong to one or other of these types, with but very slight variations; though the meaning of the artist in most cases remains doubtful, unless some attribute or inscription serve to show his intention. It may seem surprising at first that there should be so much sameness, such almost wearisome iteration of the same types, in the first outburst of a young and promising art, full of originality and observation of nature. Such repetition of certain fixed types with varying meaning might rather seem appropriate to the decadence of art, when invention and imagination were effete, and the sculptor could only reproduce what his greater predecessors had brought to the highest perfection. And this, as we shall see, is perfectly true.¹ But between the two cases, the rise and the fall of Greek sculpture, there is an essential difference. It is no lack of imagination, far less the carelessness and indifference that proceed in a decadent period from the fatal facility of the artist and his despair of advancing beyond his masters, that leads to the monotony of type in early Greek sculpture. The cause is rather to be sought in the correct appreciation by the sculptor of the great difficulties that are before him—a quality that at once distinguishes true art, though yet in embryo, from the easy and styleless attempts of an uncultured barbarian. A due realisation of the difficulties of sculpture, and an honest and persevering attempt to overcome them, are the signs of promise that are most characteristic of early Greek art; and when we observe these, we need not wonder that the artist eagerly adopted some fixed and definite limits within which he might exercise his skill, otherwise liable to be dispersed and lost among the infinite possibilities of a free and untrammelled rendering of what he saw around him.

§ 19. *Stories of Inventions and their Value.*—Upon the very threshold of what we may call the historical period of Greek sculpture we are met by certain traditions, which we can neither

¹ See § 77, New Attic Reliefs.

accept nor ignore, concerning the inventions made by various early artists. Thus we are told by Pausanias that Rhoecus and Theodorus of Samos were the first to invent bronze foundry, and to cast statues of bronze; and by Pliny that the first to attain renown in the sculpture of marble were Dipoenus and Scyllis of Crete, though this statement is afterwards modified by the addition that even before their time Melas and his family had practised marble sculpture in Chios. Here Pliny is almost certainly repeating side by side two rival and inconsistent traditions—probably both equally lacking in historical authority. We have already seen how worthless are the traditions preserved by later writers as to the inventions attributed to Daedalus;¹ Herodotus mentions a great dedication made by early Samian bronze workers long before the time of Rhoecus and Theodorus; and we know that statues both of marble and of bronze were made often enough outside Greece, if not in it, before any of these so-called inventors.

We may then dismiss at once these stories of inventions, so far as literal accuracy is concerned; but at the same time it may be worth while to consider whether they are merely baseless conjectures of later Greek critics, or traditions with some underlying truth, though misunderstood by those who record them. Here again we are helped by analogy. In the case of the alphabet, similar traditions of inventions can be confronted with its history, as based upon ascertained facts. And we find that while one tradition, which assigns the introduction of letters into Greece to the Phoenician Cadmus, is very near the truth, there are many others equally inconsistent both with this tradition and with the facts. And in matters of detail we find the stories that assign the invention of various letters to various mythical or historical personages to be entirely false and misleading.

We shall then attach very little weight to the traditions which assign various inventions in connection with the art of sculpture to various early masters. They certainly tell us nothing except that these masters excelled in early times in that branch with which their reputed inventions are concerned. But the amount of originality which they can claim is only to be learnt from a general survey of the evidence, both literary and monumental, as to the nature and the limits of their artistic activity.

¹ See § 13.

§ 20. *Schools of Samos, Chios, Crete: Literary Evidence.*—We find in the literary authorities on which we are dependent for the history of sculpture various stories as to the schools which first attained eminence and influence in Greece. We have already seen in the case of Daedalus, whose name is introduced again in connection with some of the early schools of sculpture, how worthless these stories are for scientific study; and we shall not see any reason for attaching much greater value to them in the present case. It is, however, necessary to repeat them here in their main outlines, partly because, however partial, they probably contain some truth, and partly because many statements based upon them may be found in accepted hand-books. We must, however, remember the nature of the authorities with which we are dealing (see Introduction, [a]); all the stories are derived from late and uncritical compilers, who repeat side by side inconsistent versions which they have culled from various earlier writers; and these earlier writers often represent a prejudiced view, perhaps invented and certainly repeated in order to enhance the glory of some place or school, by claiming the earliest inventions or attainments for its primitive and sometimes mythical representatives.¹ After so much reservation, we may proceed to the stories themselves.

Next after Daedalus come certain artists who are expressly described as his pupils. Most prominent among these are Dipoenus and Scyllis of Crete, who were, according to some, the sons also of Daedalus. In accordance with this mythical date, we are told also that they made a life-size statue of emerald, which Sesostris of Egypt (Ramses II.) sent to Lindus. Smilis of Aegina was another contemporary of Daedalus; and the Athenian Endoeus was a pupil of Daedalus, and accompanied his master in his flight to Crete. If this were all we heard about these artists, we might dismiss them as entirely legendary. But other statements about them seem as clearly historical.² Dipoenus and Scyllis, we are told, were famous about 580 B.C.; they then came from Crete to Sicyon, where they undertook to make various statues of the gods. Owing to some breach of the agreement—perhaps at the death of Cleisthenes the tyrant in 573 B.C.—they went off to Ambracia,

¹ See Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*.

² For the chronology see Ulrichs, *Skopas*, p. 219 *sqq.*

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where works of theirs were preserved. Later, the Sicyonians after a famine having been advised by the Delphic oracle to recall them to carry out their bargain, they returned and made statues of Apollo, Artemis, Heracles, and Athena. Works of theirs were also shown at Argos, Cleonae, and Tiryns; and pupils of theirs were among the best known early sculptors, especially in Sparta. Statues by them were also among the spoil carried off by Cyrus from Lydia (in 546 B.C.) Besides marble and bronze gilt, the materials they used were ebony and ivory, in which they made a group at Argos of the Dioscuri and their sons, and Hilaeira and Phoebe. This subject at once reminds us of the groups in relief on early decorative works; but the groups by the Spartan pupils of Dipoenus and Scyllis must have been in the round,¹ and so probably theirs were also.

Before discussing the historical accuracy of these facts, let us get some notion of the other information which we possess about this early period from literary sources. Endoeus, whom we have just seen as an associate and pupil of Daedalus, is also said to have made the statue of Artemis at Ephesus, the ancient statue of Athena Alea at Tegea, and a primitive seated statue of Athena at Erythrae; but he also made a seated statue of Athena at Athens, which was dedicated by Callias, according to its inscription recorded by Pausanias (probably about 550 B.C.), and his name occurs on an archaic inscription actually extant in Athens.² To this strange mixture of fact and fiction we shall have to recur, as it offers the safest clue for our guidance amidst the contradictory evidence about early artists. Another artist, as to whom we get no trustworthy information, not even as to his name, is Simon or Simmias, son of Eupalamus, who made the statue of Dionysus Morychus at Athens of rough stone. The title of this statue, and the recorded practice of staining its face at vintage time with wine-lees and fresh figs, seem to show that it was a primitive object of worship.

With Smilis the case is somewhat different. He is described as an Aeginetan³ by Pausanias, but his works were

¹ See below, § 23.

² *C. I. A.* i. no. 477.

³ As Furtwängler (*Meisterw.* p. 720) points out, it is very probable that this is simply a misunderstanding of a conventional criticism, which classed Smilis as Aeginetan, i.e. archaic, of a certain type, in style. If so, Smilis must naturally be classed with the Samian artists.

shown in Argos and Elis; he made the sacred image of Hera in the Heraeum at Samos; but in this case we are expressly told that his statue was a substitute for the shapeless plank that was the earliest representation of the goddess. This Smilis is also mentioned as the architect of the Labyrinth at Lemnos, in conjunction with Rhoecus and Theodorus, to whom we must next turn in our enumeration.

These two artists, together with Telecles—the three are said to have been of one family, but their relationship is variously given—are the representatives of the early Samian school to which, as we have seen, the invention of bronze foundry is attributed. According to another story, Rhoecus and Theodorus invented also modelling in clay, long before the expulsion of the Bacchiadae from Corinth (663 B.C.); here, however, they have a rival claimant in Butades of Corinth, who is said to have made this last invention by filling in with clay the outline which his daughter had traced by lamplight from her lover's face upon the wall. Both stories are probably of equal value. Theodorus is coupled by Plato with the mythical Daedalus and Epeius. Rhoecus and Theodorus are mentioned as architects of temples as famous as those at Samos and Ephesus, and of the Skias at Sparta. But the only works of sculpture attributed to them are a statue at Ephesus called Night by Rhoecus; a statue of Theodorus by himself, holding a file in his right hand and a chariot of remarkably minute work in his left;¹ and the statue of Apollo Pythius at Samos, as to which is told the curious story that Telecles and Theodorus made the two halves independently, one at Ephesus, the other at Samos, and that these two halves fitted perfectly when joined. This remarkably systematic work is attributed to the fact that they were trained to follow the Egyptian proportions, and we are told that this statue had its legs striding and its arms close to the sides, after the Egyptian model. We have seen, however, that nearly all archaic male statues in Greece follow this same type. Then many technical improvements and inventions of tools are attributed to Theodorus, who was, however, even more famous as a gem-cutter and goldsmith. He made

¹ The fly that covers this with its wings can hardly mean a scarab gem. The expression is probably a purely hyperbolical one, to express minuteness of work; compare the similar one about Myrmecides; *S. Q.* 2192-2201. "Simul facta" is probably a textual error, unless Pliny has made a mistake himself, as is not improbable. The point is hardly worth discussion.

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the ring of Polycrates, which forms the subject of one of Herodotus' charming stories, and also the famous golden vine and plane tree for the Persian king Darius, and gold and silver craters for Croesus to dedicate at Delphi (between 560 and 548 B.C.) Finally, the name of a sculptor Theodorus, in the Ionic alphabet, has been found upon a base on the Acropolis at Athens, of about the middle of the sixth century;¹ and that of Rhoecus as the dedicator of a vase to Aphrodite at Naucratis in Egypt,² thus lending some probability to the story of the Egyptian studies of these Samian artists.

Then there is a great family of Chian artists who rival the Cretan Dipoenus and Scyllis in their claim to be the first sculptors in marble; they run through the four generations of Melas, Micciades, Archermus, and Bupalus and Athenis. Of the first two we are told nothing; but Archermus is said to have been the first to represent Nike with wings, and works of his existed in Delos and Lesbos. By singular good fortune there have been found at Delos a statue of an archaic winged female figure, and a basis (which almost certainly belonged to it) bearing the names of Micciades and Archermus of Chios.³ It is extremely probable that in this statue, which must be described later,⁴ we see the very figure described as a winged Nike by later writers: in any case we have positive proof that Archermus dedicated an offering in Delos before the middle of the sixth century. A later inscription, in Ionic characters, has been found with the name of Archermus of Chios on the Acropolis at Athens.⁵ Bupalus and Athenis were the enemies of the poet Hipponax, whose deformity they are said to have caricatured, and who wrote abusive verses about them (about 540 B.C.) Several statues by them are recorded in various cities of Asia Minor, all of female divinities; and there is also mentioned in Chios a mask of Artemis, hung high up, that appeared severe as one entered, and smiling as one went

¹ *C. I. A.* iv. no. 373.90.

² *Naucratis*, ii., Inscr. no. 778.

³ See Loewy, no. 1; and for reading and interpretation of inscription, *Class. Review*, 1893.

⁴ See p. 118.

⁵ *C. I. A.* iv. 373.95. It has been said that these two inscriptions cannot refer to the same man; but the difference of place, and a possible interval of forty years in time, would easily account for the difference of lettering. Archermus would be a young man when he worked with his father Micciades in Delos. He may well have come to Athens in his old age.

out. At Rome, works by Bupalus and Athenis were set up either in the pediment or as acroteria upon the temple of the Palatine Apollo, and (adds Pliny) in almost all Augustus' buildings. It is especially to be noticed that the great majority of the statues made by these Chian artists were of female divinities; we shall see how this preference for the female draped figure is characteristic both of Ionic and of Attic art, and contrasts with the preference for the male athletic type which we shall find in Aegina and the Peloponnese.

Another early artist, Clearchus of Rhegium, was called by some a pupil of Daedalus; but in this case the story is probably due to his having made a statue which appeared to later critics to show a very primitive technique.¹

Other names might be added to those included in this section, but we should learn nothing more as to the early history of sculpture, which is very little the clearer even for the records already mentioned. We must now, however, attempt to get some more definite notion of the value of this evidence.

It is in the first place to be observed that concerning almost all the artists who have just been mentioned we have some stories that are clearly mythical, and others that make claim to be historical; yet both apparently rest on precisely the same authority, and often occur in consecutive sentences of the same author. Perhaps one example shows this most clearly of all: Pausanias tells us that Endoeus was an Athenian who accompanied Daedalus in his flight to Crete; in the very next sentence he says that Endoeus made a statue for Callias, as is mentioned in the dedication. Now this last statement is probably true, for we know from actually extant inscriptions that Endoeus was an artist working at Athens in Callias' day. And, moreover, Pausanias tells us he is quoting an inscription, and in such a case we may well allow considerable authority to his statement. Yet we see here how he places side by side with a most trustworthy statement another which is both inconsistent with it and impossible in itself. And so, where we have no certain means of ascertaining the source from which he derived his information, we can allow hardly any weight to his critical discrimination in accepting and repeating it. Even more is this the case with Pliny, who is merely a compiler from compilations. With what impartiality he compiles may be seen from his statements that

¹ See below, p. 154, and also Introduction, p. 24.

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Dipoenus and Scyllis on the one hand, and Melas and his family on the other, were the first sculptors in marble. The two stories are inconsistent with one another, and evidently proceed from the rival traditions of various schools. How these traditions arose we can only conjecture; but few if any of them have any early authority. Yet it is a singular fact that they are mostly associated with the names of early artists whose existence is either extremely probable or attested by certain evidence. The names of these artists were probably preserved by inscriptions, and possibly some of their works remained extant till later times; but as to their date, their lives, or their attainments, very little could have been known. Those later critics or compilers who championed the claim of one school or another to the earliest eminence in any branch of sculpture naturally made use of the names thus preserved, eking out the scanty facts recorded by the aid of their imagination or by borrowing from mythical sources. Thus it does not follow because an artist is mentioned as a companion of Daedalus, that he is therefore an equally mythical personage; but on the other hand, we have no certain ~~criteria~~ by which we can distinguish the true from the false among the various information with which we are supplied by ancient writers. We must not, therefore, accept as historically accurate any of this information about the early artists of Greece, except with the utmost caution and the most careful comparison with ascertained facts—unless, in short, we know it to be true upon other evidence. Least of all must we select from the passages preserved from ancient writers such as appear to us to be intrinsically probable or consistent with our theories and expectations, to the exclusion of all the rest. Such a proceeding is most unscientific in its method, and can only lead to the perpetuation of error or the concealment of ignorance. The study of the monuments alone can guide us safely in the history of this early period; supplemented, indeed, by literary evidence, but never constrained into consistency with what, after all, may well be a partial or misleading account.

NOTE.—The unusually low estimate made in this section of the value of the literary authorities for the history of archaic Greek sculpture finds confirmation in the facts analysed by Loewy in his *Inscripfen griechischen Bildhauer*, p. xvi. It there appears that out of the total number of sculptors whose names are recorded on inscriptions, the number whose names are already known to us from literary sources varies considerably according to period. Dr. Loewy's table is as follows:—

	Names of sculptors mentioned in ancient writers.	Names of sculptors not mentioned in ancient writers.
Sixth century	2	11
Fifth „	14	8
Fourth „	16	8
Fourth to Third century	10	19
Third to Second „	7	35
Second to First „	9	55
Imperial times	3	55
Copies	18	0

Some additions to this table from more recent discoveries, especially on the Athenian Acropolis, would be possible. But they would not change the nature of the proportions.

We find then that in the fifth and fourth centuries, the period that includes all the greatest names in Greek art, the literary tradition fairly coincides with that of inscriptions, about two-thirds of the artists whose names we find inscribed on the bases of statues being mentioned by ancient authors; in the sixth century, on the other hand, but a very small proportion of the sculptors recorded by inscriptions to have been active in Greece is known to us from literary evidence. The natural inference from these facts is that in primitive times the literary evidence is of a very partial and fragmentary nature, while, as to the fifth and fourth century, the facts about artists were fairly well known and pretty completely recorded by those authors, chiefly Pausanias and Pliny, on whom we depend for our literary information. This is exactly what we should expect from the circumstances of the case; and in particular, the doubts which we were led by the nature of the evidence about the earliest Greek sculptures to entertain as to the trustworthiness of that evidence, are strikingly confirmed by its failure to correspond with the evidence of inscriptions.

In later times, though the proportion of known artists among those recorded by inscriptions again becomes small, the reasons are somewhat different. Our authorities record less about the artists of later times not so much because of their ignorance and the impossibility of finding out the truth, as from the lack of interest in the subject after the days of decline had begun. And again, the earlier historical and descriptive compilations on which our authorities are based probably date from the end of the period when the literary and epigraphical evidence correspond.

§ 21. *Early Monuments, locally classified.*—We have seen that the literary evidence as to the early history of Greek sculpture is on the one hand so untrustworthy, on the other so fragmentary and partial, that it cannot be used as a foundation for the study of the monuments. It follows that such indications as to various artists and schools, their relations and their dependence, as we gather from literary authorities, cannot serve as a basis for the classification of extant works of sculpture. There are three other methods according to which it would be possible to arrange these extant works in any systematic treatment; we may classify them according to the place where they were found, or to which they are proved to belong by certain

evidence, such as that of inscriptions; or we may follow in turn each of the main types which we have already noticed through the various modifications it underwent in various places and periods; or we may try to adopt a chronological order. The last of these three is, however, impracticable in dealing with numerous works made under varying conditions; we have no reason to assume that the course of development was of equal rapidity and similar tendency in different parts of Greece; and thus a chronological arrangement is only possible within various local subdivisions. An attempt to follow the main sculptural types through their various examples would be very instructive, and is indeed indispensable to the student; but we should thus be restricted almost entirely to sculpture in the round, and should be precluded from filling in the gaps in our evidence with reliefs, which in many cases form our only source of knowledge. It seems best, therefore, to content ourselves in the present section with an enumeration of the most representative works of early sculpture according to a purely local classification. Such inferences as may be safely drawn concerning the relation or influence of early schools will in part be apparent as we proceed; in part they must be pointed out in a subsequent section.

For the sake of clearness in this local classification we will divide the various localities as follows:—

(§ 21) Ionic: (a) Ionia, (b) Asia Minor, (c) Aegean Islands, (d) N. Greece, (e) Athens.

(§ 22) Doric or Peloponnesian: (a) Crete, (β) Sparta, (γ) Rest of Peloponnese, (δ) Acarnania, (ε) Megara, (ζ) Selinus, (η) Boeotia.

I. IONIC. (a) *Ionia*.—Two sites in Ionia have yielded considerable remains of archaic sculpture—the very two which were the chief centres of worship, and therefore attracted those dedications which, as we have seen, offer most opportunities for the energy of the sculptor in early times. These are the temple of Apollo at Branchidae near Miletus, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. At Branchidae many of the statues that lined the sacred way have survived; most of these are now in the British Museum, some in the Louvre.¹ Some of these statues have

¹ B. D. 141-143; Newton, *Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, etc., Pl. lxxiv.-lxxv.

inscribed dedications, which are most valuable, not only in giving us additional evidence as to date, but also in telling us the subject; the inscription on one of the statues asserts that

FIG. 8.—Statue of Chares, ruler of Tichiussa, from Branchidae (British Museum).

it is Chares, ruler of Tichiussa, and in all cases probably the worshipper or dedicator himself is represented. From these inscriptions we may assign the statues to various dates,

mostly not long before or after 550 B.C.; and we can see corresponding differences in the style of the statues themselves. The earlier among them offer some of the most primitive examples of the common seated type. The seated figure seems to be of one piece with the chair, and none of the forms of the body are felt or indicated through the flat heavy drapery, which envelops all the contours as if in a solid and unyielding mass. Yet even in this case we may see some characteristics which we shall frequently have to notice in works of Ionic style or under Ionic influence—the full and heavy forms both of head and body, the rounded and fleshy build of the figure, and the absence of modelling of details; these are often rendered by mere incised outlines, especially in the case of the drapery. The more advanced examples among the Branchidae statues show the same general character. Although in them the drapery is arranged far more elaborately and is rendered with more care in details, while the forms of the body in some cases show through the clothes that envelop them, we still find the same clumsiness and heaviness of mass, and the same absence of any organic distinction between the drapery and the human figure, or the figure and the chair that it sits upon.

The sculptures of the temple at Ephesus are somewhat different in nature. The most interesting of them formed bands of relief round the columns of the temple, most of which were dedicated by Croesus;¹ and fragments of an inscription, which has been restored with great probability by Canon Hicks as *Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν*, have been found upon some of the bases. We are thus enabled to date these reliefs approximately, for the reign of Croesus lasted from 560 to 546 B.C.; thus they are earlier than some, and later than others, of the Branchidae figures; and we may remember also that they were in the very temple of which the foundations are said to have been laid by Theodorus of Samos. We may best judge of the style from one nearly complete figure, now set up in the British Museum,² and from a female head, also in the British Museum, which is shown by the curved background attached to it to come from a similar column.³ So far as it is possible to compare architectural sculptures, which are subject to the conditions imposed by another art, with independent

¹ Herod. i. 92.

² *J. H. S.* 1889, Pl. iii.; *B. D.* 148.

³ Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, Fig. 22.

**FIG. 2.—Sculptured Column, dedicated by Croesus in the temple at Ephesus
(British Museum).**

statues, these Ephesian sculptures seem to show a resemblance in style to those of Branchidae; the forms, if less heavy and fleshy, are of a similar character; and we see the same enveloping drapery, with its folds and divisions cut in outline on a flat surface rather than modelled. But here we have some fairly preserved faces, and in them we notice even more distinctly the full and rounded forms, and a soft and sensual type which well accords with the luxury of the Ionian cities before the evil days that befell them during the advance of Persia. At the same time we may notice a want of definition in detail, coupled with harmony of composition and skill in laying out the main outlines, such as we shall see again in works that fall under Ionic influence—a general character that may be summed up in the expression “lax archaic style.” This is a distinction that we shall appreciate fully when we come to consider the precise and accurate, though often harsh and angular forms of Doric or Peloponnesian art. For the present we must be content with noticing the various forms which this style takes in Asia Minor, and in those parts of Greece which are connected with it by position or influence.

The frieze of the same temple at Ephesus is in a very fragmentary state; but it clearly belongs to a much later period, the building of the temple having perhaps lasted over a century; thus it hardly belongs to our present section, but it may be quoted at once as showing this same Ionic art in a more advanced stage.

(b) *Asia Minor*.—We have already seen something of Lycian art in an earlier stage; we must now return to see in it the reflection of the Ionic art of the sixth century. The great example of Lycian art at this period is the Harpy tomb, brought from Xanthus to the British Museum. This monument was surrounded with reliefs on four sides, representing throned figures, male and female, approached by trains of worshippers with offerings, while at each corner of the two shorter sides are strange monsters, with human heads and breasts, and birds' wings and bodies, which carry off small female figures, clasped in their claws and their human arms. These creatures have given their name to the tomb.¹ The symbolism of these interesting reliefs may perhaps be only

¹ It is probably incorrect to give the name of Harpies to these monsters; but the name is now so well established that it is difficult to get rid of.

partially Greek in its nature; but it throws a good deal of light on the beliefs of the people to whom it belongs as to death and the afterworld; and their notions seem not to be dissimilar to those we find in Greece. It is clear that the strange monsters are some kind of death genius, carrying off the souls of the deceased, and that in the throned figures who

FIG. 10.—Harpy Monument, from Xanthus in Lycia; N. and W. sides
(British Museum).

receive offerings we have a similar subject to that with which we shall meet again in the Spartan tomb reliefs (see § 22, β). In them it may often be doubted whether we should recognise the deities of the lower world or the deceased as a hero receiving the funeral offerings from his descendants; probably the two notions are not clearly distinguished. The

survivors may have believed that their ancestor sat enthroned below, to receive the offerings they brought to his tomb, and symbolised in the reliefs that decorated it. And the worship they accorded him was included in that which they paid to the deities who ruled the dead. It is, however, with the style that we are now mainly concerned. This and other Lycian sculptures find their closest analogy in the works of Ionic art that we have just been examining. We see again the lax archaic style, the full and round proportions, the way in which the chief forms are emphasised, while there is no finer modelling in detail. In the drapery too, though we see more elaboration and care in the rendering of its folds, as in the later Branchidae statues, we find little approach to a harmonious combination of the rendering of the figure and of the clothes that envelop its forms. Arms and legs seem simply to project from a solid and unyielding mass of drapery, which, though it follows the main outlines and contours of the body, is filled in between them in rounded and heavy masses that show no understanding of the forms beneath, and but little of the texture of the stuff itself. On the other hand, in the general composition and design, especially when the positions are of rest or only gentle motion, we see a quiet and harmonious conception which goes far to make up for defects of detail, and we may well imagine the artist as satisfied with his work; he lacks entirely that stimulating discontent which was elsewhere to lead to the surmounting of difficulties of which he seems unconscious. As to the period of this Lycian relief we have no certain evidence, and comparison with Greek works may be misleading; but in development it seems upon about the same stage as the later Branchidae figures, and a little more advanced than the Ephesian columns. It must probably belong to the later part of the sixth century. Other Lycian tomb reliefs belong to the same period, but one example is sufficient to show how the influence of Ionic art spread down the Asiatic coast to the south. To the north we may see yet another example of the same influence in the sculptures of the temple at Assos in the Troad. These sculptures form a band of ornament along the architrave of a Doric temple, instead of taking the usual position of sculptured ornamentation on the frieze.¹ They are chiefly remarkable for their subjects, which

¹ *Mon. Inst.* III. xxxiv. See Introduction (c).

consist partly of groups of animals, bulls and lions, and others, partly of feasters reclining on couches and drinking, partly of mythological scenes, such as Heracles shooting at the Centaurs, and Heracles wrestling with the fish-tailed Triton. These are the same subjects which we find on early bronze reliefs and other decorative works, and they follow just the same types; thus additional confirmation is lent to the theory that these sculptures on the architrave are but substitutes for an ornamental metal casing. We see also in them the principle of *isocephalism* carried to its extreme. Small standing or running figures, such as the Nereids in the Triton scene, or the attendants at the banquet, have to cover the same vertical interval as the reclining figures in the same scenes, and consequently are made at about one half the scale.

(c) *Aegean Islands*.—Under this heading we may include all the islands that lie between the coasts of Asia Minor and Greece, except those which, like Cythera and Aegina, seem alike by their position and their history to attach themselves more closely to the mainland. Some of these islands must be closely connected with the Ionian school; others may either have their own artistic character, or fall more under other influences. But such distinctions are too problematic to be recognised at present in a classification which mainly follows geographical limits. We shall, however, find that the islands naturally fall into three groups; firstly, those which like Samos and Chios are close to the Ionian coast, and can hardly be widely divided in art from Ephesus and Miletus; then the more central and southerly islands, especially the Cyclades, Naxos, Thera, and Melos, which seem rather more independent; and together with these, under Delos, we must mention those works which, being found in the great centre of the worship of Apollo, presumably represent the style of Ionia or the islands, though we cannot as yet make any more definite statement about them. Lastly, we must proceed to consider the more northerly islands, such as Thasos and Samothrace, in which we can recognise a distinct development of the Ionic style, which seems to spread through them to the north of Greece itself.

Samos.—The Heraeum at Samos must once have rivalled the temples of Ephesus and Branchidae as a centre of worship, and therefore as a museum of early sculpture. Of this sculpture but one specimen has survived, and that of a somewhat un-

FIG. 11.—Statue dedicated by Charamyas to Hera at Samos (Louvre).

satisfactory nature. This is a statue found close to the site of the Heraeum, and bearing an inscription stating that it was dedicated to Hera by one Cheramyas. It is of very primitive type, the lower part of the body being a mere circular column from which the feet project at the bottom. The head is wanting, but the upper part of the body shows more attempt at rendering the form of the human figure; this, however, is only in the main contours, there being no modelling at all in detail. The drapery has evidently occupied the artist's attention, but he has taken more pains about the extremely elaborate arrangement of a complicated system of garments than about the study of folds or the rendering of texture; he has, indeed, been content to indicate both of these by a conventional system of parallel lines which follow all the contours of the drapery, and give to the whole the appearance of having had a large tooth-comb drawn over the surface. With our present knowledge of the history of the Ionic alphabet there is no need to place the inscription on this statue later than the middle of the sixth century, and certainly the style of the statue does not suggest a later date.¹

The very peculiar style, especially in the treatment of drapery, which we see in this Samian statue, finds a most striking analogy in two statues that have been found on the Athenian Acropolis, but are certainly not of Attic work. The resemblance seems close enough to justify us in treating the three together here, though it would be rash in the present state of our knowledge to assert dogmatically that the Athenian examples were imported from Samos, or made by a Samian artist. It may be noticed also that the name Theodorus occurs on one of the bases of statues found on the Acropolis, written in the Ionic, not the Attic character; it seems natural to identify this Ionic sculptor with Theodorus of Samos, and, if so, Samian works in Athens need not surprise us. The weak link in the chain of evidence is that the statue found on Samos is an isolated and in some ways peculiar example, from which we cannot generalise very confidently as to Samian art. One of the statues found in Athens, which also lacks its head,²

¹ It has often been assigned to the end of the century, and then explained as archaistic; but, apart from the inscription, I do not think any one would place it so late, and there is no reason now for placing the inscription after 550 B.C.

² 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, Pl. 6.

otherwise resembles very closely the Samian statue, except that the lower part of the body is oblong, not round, in section; it reminds us, in fact, of the *σάρις* rather than of the *κίον*. The position of the figure, which holds a fruit (pomegranate?) close to the breast with one arm, while the other is close to the side,

FIG. 12.—Statue found on the Acropolis at Athens, resembling that from Samos (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

and the treatment of drapery, though its arrangement is here less elaborate, are precisely similar to what we see in the Samian figure. The second similar figure from Athens fortunately has its head preserved, though the body is lost below the waist. But the position and drapery are again so similar that we may almost certainly restore what is missing in any one of these three statues from what is preserved in the others.

Thus the one head remaining has a very high value to us ; its proportions are narrow and meagre, the broader surfaces flat, and their junctions angular. All details are added in extremely shallow work ; thus the eyelids are merely indicated by incised lines, and the folds and texture of the drapery are hardly clearer. The hair also is thin and wavy, with parallel lines like those of the drapery. The mouth is merely a straight and shallow line, bordered by thin lips, thus offering the greatest contrast to the full lips and exaggerated smile common in works of Ionic art and in many others at an early period. The whole impression conveyed is weak and indefinite, as if the sculptor were diffident and tried to gain the effects he wished for with the least possible play of surface. If we are right in suggesting Samos to be the home of this art, we must notice the contrast which it offers to the usual full and rounded forms of Ionic sculpture, though in the absence of finer modelling, the drawing and incising rather than moulding of details, there is also a resemblance. Possibly we may see here in marble the kind of work which was produced by the earliest bronze founders ; in their case we can easily understand a careful avoidance of deep cuttings or projecting masses, such as would offer grave difficulties to unskilful bronze-casters.

Another statue, this time of the male type, which offers a very close resemblance in the treatment of the face to the Athenian example, has been found in Boeotia, at the temple of Apollo Ptous. It is described, however, under Boeotia,¹ the links with Samos in this case being too slender to justify us in placing it definitely here.

Chios.—The school of Chios, which, as we have seen, is said to have continued in one family for four generations, is mentioned upon an inscribed base found at Delos, which, however it be read as to details,² certainly contains the names of Micciades and his son Archermus. Near this basis, and within the same building, was found an early winged figure, which probably once stood upon it. The connection of the two is not absolutely certain, but there is so much in its favour that it justifies us in treating the statue in question under the head of Chios. It is a draped female figure in rapid flight ; such at least is shown by the outspread wings on back and feet to be the intention of the artist, though at first the statue seems rather to

¹ See p. 150.

² See *Classical Review*, 1893, p. 140.

Call, p. 176.

be kneeling on one knee; one hand also is raised, and the other appears in front of the hip, and both arms are bent at the elbow, as in rapid running; the legs are similarly separated and bent at the knee, and thus the whole really does give the impression of quick motion. A study of small bronzes reproducing the same type¹ shows that the whole floated free in the air, being supported only on the drapery which falls in a deep fold beneath the bent knee; and thus the illusion of flight is yet further aimed at—a very bold attempt for so primitive an artist. For although his design is probably based on an already existing decorative type, its translation to marble, and its execution on so much larger a scale, really amount to an original invention. Together with this change is probably to be associated a Hellenising of the subject, an infusion of new meaning into a purely decorative borrowed type; and herein also lies a great advance on the part of the artist. What his exact meaning was it is not easy for us to ascertain, but if we accept the connection between statue and inscribed basis, which we have seen to be probable, we may quote the statement of the Scholiast to Aristophanes (*Birds* 575), that Archermus was the first to make a winged Nike, as a proof that Archermus was credited with artistic originality in the invention or adaptation of sculptural types; and we may even, perhaps, see in this very statue the winged Nike which he made.² We must, however, turn from the subject to the style.

The shape of the upper part of the body is practically contained by four intersecting planes, the back and front and the two sides being parallel, and the corners just rounded off. Though the shape is such as to leave room for the breasts, no trace of modelling exists; but the flat surface is covered with small incised circles drawn with a compass, doubtless intended to imitate plumage, like the similar ornamentation often found on the breast of early sphinxes. They were painted in various bright colours, and thus resembled the scale pattern on some early vases. The feathers of the wings were similarly outlined and coloured. Below the waist the dress follows closely the outlines of the limbs in their rapid motion; it does not flow

¹ *Mittheil. Ath.* 1886, Taf. xi.

² It has been argued with much force that the Greek conception of winged Nike is not earlier than the fifth century. But Archermus may still have originated the type, even if he used it with another meaning. Cf. Sikes, *Nike of Archermus* (Cambridge, 1891).

FIG. 12.—Winged figure dedicated at Delos, probably by Mictiades and Archermus of Chios (Athens, National Museum).

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freely or seem to have any independent existence; its broad folds, each of which seems slightly to overlap the next, follow the fixed contours in parallel lines. It hides and envelops the forms of the body, without having any form of its own to substitute.

The treatment of the hair follows a conventional system which we shall meet with frequently in archaic works. It is divided into three portions, which are treated independently of one another. The circular space on the top of the head, within the diadem, is divided into four quadrants, in each of which parallel wavy lines run from the centre to the edge. Over the forehead we see a succession of waves, each divided by lines parallel to its edge, while in the middle is a curious flat spiral, divided symmetrically. Down the back the hair falls in a wavy mass, while separate tresses hang in front from the temples over the breast.

The face is very bony and angular; the projecting eyeballs are merely bounded with incised lines for eyelids; the mouth, in a strong but simple curve, runs up at the corners into a band of flesh that curves round it both above and at the side. The finishing of the corners of the mouth was always a difficulty with early sculptors; it is solved in a very similar way in the Apollo of Thera.¹

In short, this statue shows many of the defects and conventionalities that we have already noticed; but it also shows great originality and promise both in its conception and its execution. Thus it is a most characteristic monument of the early development of Greek sculpture, whether we associate it or not with the Chian artists of whom, otherwise, we have little knowledge.

Naxos. — This island is not known to us from literary authorities as an early centre of art. But the number of early works of sculpture, some of them found upon the island itself, some of them dedicated by Naxians in Delos, and one discovered even as far off as Boeotia, is too great to be due to a mere accident. The marble of Naxos,² like that of its sister island Paros, was a favourite material with early sculptors, and may have contributed to an early development of sculpture in the island.

The earliest in type, and probably also in date, among these

¹ See p. 124.

² See Introduction (*b*, 2).



FIG. 14.—Statue dedicated at Delos by Nicandra of Naxos to Artemis
(Athens, National Museum)

Naxian sculptures is the statue dedicated to Artemis at Delos, by the Naxian Nicandra. Here, indeed, we have no direct statement that Nicandra employed a Naxian artist; but the presumption is strong in favour of such a view. This statue, which is now in Athens, has already been quoted as an example of the most primitive type. The body, which is like an oblong pillar or thick board,¹ and the position, which is perfectly rigid, with the feet together and the arms close to the sides, show no advance on the simplest models; the face, unfortunately, is quite gone. The hair is rendered by a curious convention which can only be derived from an Egyptian model; it fits close over the top of the head, and projects at each side over the ear in a broad mass, a scheme which we find in some other primitive works. We see here, then, a statue, possibly imitated from a primitive cultus image earlier than any sculptural development in Greece, and showing little trace of that imitation of foreign models, Egyptian and other, that gave a great stimulus to Greek sculpture in its early days.

We must turn next to three statues which all reproduce the ordinary nude male type. Two of these are unfinished, but none the less instructive for that. The third is fragmentary, only portions of the torso and legs and one hand surviving. This last is the colossus which once stood upon the basis at Delos bearing the well-known inscription τοῦ ἀφ' ἑνὸς λίθου εἰμὶ ἀνδρίας καὶ τὸ σφέλας, while on the other side is added in later letters Νάξιοι Ἀπόλλωνι. The statue was an example of the nude male type (probably with the arms raised from the elbows), only distinguished from others by its great size, and by a curious metal girdle, of which the attachment is still visible round its waist. At the front, back, and sides, it is extremely flat; thus there is little modelling, the outlines and muscles being indicated by mere cuts or depressions in the surface of the marble. The hair at the back ends in a row of little spiral curls, such as are often seen over the forehead; here the scale of the work probably made some such finish desirable.

The Naxians seem to have been fond of making such colossi; another lies unfinished in a quarry on the island itself. This statue is about 34 feet long; in its present state it is instructive to notice how it is worked entirely in flat planes at right angles

¹ *σπίλιν*. Cf. S. Q. 342.

to one another, forming the front, back, and sides.¹ The left leg is, as usual, slightly advanced; the arms are bent forward from the elbow. It is possible, as Ross suggests, that this may have been originally intended for the colossus to be dedicated at Delos, and was given up owing to flaws in the marble. If so, and indeed in any case, we can see on comparing the finished and unfinished work how this system of working in planes parallel to front and side affected the finished statue, in which we can see the flatness produced by the process still remaining, though it is disguised by rounding off the corners and adding some details. Another unfinished statue, now in Athens, was found near the same quarry on Naxos; and a study of its form leads again to the same conclusion as to the manner in which these early statues were cut.²

We have yet another example of this type from Naxos, in a bronze of smaller size and of a more advanced period of art, now in Berlin.³ It was dedicated to Apollo by Deinagores. In the case of a small bronze it is not so safe to infer a local origin as in the case of a large marble statue; but the conventionalities of pose and hair, the careful yet flat modelling of the body, the disproportionate heaviness of the calves, are all features which we shall meet again among the islands,⁴ and the type of face is just what we might expect, with the advance of art, to replace the somewhat crude forms of the Nike of Archermus, without changing their essential nature. From the inscription, this statue must belong to the sixth century, though its style is so much more advanced than that of many other examples of the same type that it must be placed near the end of the century.

Finally, we must mention here the work of a Naxian artist, Alxenor, who worked in the first half of the fifth century.⁵ The date is shown both by the lettering of the inscription which records his name, and by the style of the relief (found in Boeotia and now in Athens) on which it is inscribed. This is a tombstone, representing a man leaning on a staff, and holding playfully a cicala to a dog, which turns back its neck towards his hand. Thus we have little more than a genre scene from actual life,

¹ Ross, *Reise auf der griechischen Inseln*. vol. i., plate at end, and p. 39.

² See Introduction (b, 2), and *J. H. S.* 1890, p. 130.

³ See *Arch. Zeitung*, xxxvii., Pl. 7.

⁴ See especially Melos, p. 125.

⁵ Conze, *Beiträge*, etc., Pl. xi.

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such as is not uncommon on tombstones.¹ The style is remarkable for the grace of the composition, and for the care and skill with which all the details are rendered in the very low and flat relief. At the same time there are some features—notably the way in which the further shoulder rests on the top of the staff, and the foreshortening of the left foot—which look awkward in sculpture, and suggest that the artist was more used to the resources of drawing on a flat surface. This may best be realised by comparing the original or a cast with a photograph or drawing; what in the latter appears natural and graceful only shows its awkwardness when seen in relief. It is hardly rash to infer that the artist must have been trained in a school which was more skilled in drawing and painting than in sculpture in relief. But considering the difference in period between this and the earlier Naxian sculptures, and also that they are exclusively sculptures in the round, we have no materials for any further comparison or for any wider inferences about the Naxian school in the light of this, its later work.

Thera.—The early sculpture of Thera is represented for us by an “Apollo” now in Athens, a nude male statue corresponding in type and style very closely to those we have just seen from the neighbouring island of Naxos. It affords throughout the clearest example to be seen in any finished statue of that system of working in planes parallel to front and side, and at right angles to one another, which we have noticed in the unfinished statues from Naxos. As in the colossal torso, the corners are merely rounded off, and the outlines of muscles are rendered by shallow grooves which cannot be called modelling, and do not affect the general flatness of the surface on which they appear. In the treatment of head and face, we see a very similar repetition of the characteristics that we noted in the head of the “Nike of Archermus”—the same slight and angular form, the same treatment of eye and mouth. The hair is somewhat different, being spread in a row of flat spiral curls over the forehead. If we compare this statue with the Apollo from the Ptoan temple in Boeotia (see § 26, p. 150) we are struck at first with the similarity of its proportions. But this similarity only serves to emphasise the essential difference of style which we see in every detail. The rounded modelling of the Boeotian figure, both in face and

¹ For another example from the islands, very similar in composition, see below, p. 130.

body, the simple, expressionless lines of eye and mouth, contrast most strongly with the flat intersecting planes and the exagger-

FIG. 15.—"Apollo" found at Thera (Athens, National Museum).

ated expression that are the most remarkable features in this and other works that come from the islands.

Melos, which has yielded a rich harvest of sculpture of various periods, to enrich various museums of Europe, was until recently only known in the early period of art for its remarkable vases

and for an interesting series of terra-cotta reliefs. To these must now be added a life-size Apollo, found and transported to Athens in 1891.¹ This statue resembles the one from Thera in most ways, but there are also considerable differences between the two: in particular the squareness of form there so remarkable is considerably modified by cutting away the sides obliquely, both in the body and the arms. In treatment of hair and expression, and in general proportions, we see in the Melian statue a more advanced example of the same type that we find in the Theraean one. The legs here are preserved to the ankles, and show the disproportionately heavy calves which we noticed in the bronze Naxian statuette.

*Paros.*²—Works from Paros are not widely known; but enough exist to show that all the principal types of early sculpture were made on the island which supplied also the finest marbles for its execution. Thus there exists on Paros a draped seated statue,³ much broken, but showing in its style a similarity to the most advanced of the Branchidae figures, and to a similar seated Athena on the Acropolis at Athens.⁴ There is also a draped female figure⁵ standing, which might well belong to the series found on Delos; it is characterised by a similar style, chiefly noticeable for the elaborate arrangement and delicate finish of the drapery. A nude male statue⁶ corresponds in style to those from Naxos; it has the same flatness of side and front, and the same absence of modelling to modify the flat surfaces thus produced, the section at chest or hips being a mere oblong, with the corners rounded off; the head and legs are lost. Then, again, there are two reliefs,⁷ one representing a flying Gorgon, just in the position of the Nike of Archermus, and one representing a seated figure, like those we shall meet with on the Spartan stelae. Thus this collection of sculptures from Paros, though not extensive in number, is remarkably representative in the types of archaic art which it offers, and places Paros in the relation which we should expect it to have to the islands

¹ *Bull. C. H.* 1892, Pl. xvi.

² See Loewy, "Antike Sculpturen auf Paros," in *Arch.-epig. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, xi. 2.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 156-157.

⁴ See § 24, p. 180.

⁵ Loewy, "Antike Sculpturen auf Paros," *l.c.*, Pl. vi. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 161.

⁷ *Ibid.* Pl. v.

around it, with which its richness in marble must have constantly kept it in commercial and artistic connection.

Delos.—We have already seen that many examples of the early sculpture not only of the Cyclades but even of more distant islands were dedicated on Delos. The shrine of the Delian Apollo was, even more than the great temples of Asia Minor, the centre of Ionian worship and festivals, and therefore the most fitting place for the dedication of statues. So far we have selected from the works found on Delos those which from inscriptions or other evidence could be assigned to other islands; but a large residue does not admit of any such distinction. The conditions at Delos, where even residence was placed under restrictions, were not favourable to the growth of a local school, though there may have been sculptors, and there probably were stone-cutters, attached to the service of the temple. These men, however, would belong to the neighbouring islands, above all to Naxos and to Paros, the two islands which yielded most of the marble employed by sculptors in the sixth century. But without further evidence it seems best to treat under the head of Delos what is left of the early sculpture which the excavation of the sanctuary of Apollo has yielded, and which we can hardly be wrong in assigning to the same class as the examples we have just been considering.

The most numerous among these Delian statues form a series which offers different variations upon the draped female type. Similar statues have been found at Athens, which are fortunately far more numerous, and in a far better state of preservation. But a comparison of the two series is most instructive. At first glance they seem almost exactly alike, but a closer examination not only reveals a difference between the individual statues in each place, but also makes some general distinction possible between those found in Delos and those in Athens. We must reserve a general description of this type and its development until we come to the Athenian series;¹ here we must be content to notice a few distinguishing features of the Delian statues.² We can see in them, as in any series of early statues which stretches over a period of some length, many different stages, from a square and almost shapeless figure like that dedicated by the Naxian Nicandra³ to such as show a con-

¹ See § 23.

² Homolle, *De Antiquissimis Dianae Simulacris Deliacis*.

³ See above, p. 120.

siderable skill in the modelling of the body and the rendering of drapery. But in Delos the simple system of parallel folds which we see in some of the earliest draped figures is developed in a more conventional way than at Athens; they are sometimes cut in deeper, in one case even with the help of a saw. The same statue¹ which shows the use of this instrument is also remarkable for the squareness of its shape; we are already familiar with this shape and the flat surfaces at side and back that contain it—it is all the more noticeable for the deep cuts that intersect it—but mere depth of cutting in does not constitute modelling, though it produces shadows which prevent the work from appearing monotonous and lacking in character. This squareness may appear a reminiscence of such figures as Nicandra's Artemis; but on the other hand we have seen the process by which it is produced in other cases, and there is no need to look for any different explanation here. Another peculiarity that distinguishes the Delian statues from those at Athens is that most of them are cut out of a single block of marble, including even the projecting arm; this was doubtless owing to the proximity of the Parian marble quarries; at Athens the greater distance of transport made the sculptor avoid the necessity of large blocks by inserting any such projecting portions of the figure. The pose, drapery, and other characteristics of these female draped figures can best be considered in the case of the Athenian series, and the propriety of the name Artemis, sometimes given to these Delian figures, can hardly be discussed separately in their case; it is on the same footing as the name Apollo, commonly given to the corresponding nude male type—a type of which two or three more examples, not differing in any essential points from those we have already seen, have also been found on Delos.

Thasos.—We now leave the Cyclades, and follow the course of Ionic influence across the north of the Aegean. The peculiar forms of its alphabet show the island of Thasos to have been in close relations with Paros and Siphnos in the latter part of the sixth century; and we are accordingly prepared to find in its art a resemblance to that of the Cyclades.

The most characteristic works hitherto discovered on Thasos are in relief, not in the round. One of them is a relief of Apollo, Hermes, and the Nymphs, on each side of the opening

¹ *B. C. H.* xiii. Pl. vii. ; now in Athens.

FIG. 14.—Central part of relief to Apollo and the Nymphs, from Thasos (Louvre)

of a sacred cave. This work is remarkable for the grace and variety of pose in the figures and in the arrangement of their drapery; there is so much advance in this respect that we may even assign the relief to the earlier years of the fifth century. But in spite of all this grace and delicacy, we still see here that absence of severity and accuracy of form and modelling which we have seen in less advanced Ionic works. We see also, repeated again and again, the conventional treatment of drapery with which we are familiar, modified here and there by a careful piece of study, as in the rich draperies of Apollo and the nymph that crowns him, or in the light chlamys of Hermes. But here, as in works in the round of the same class, the treatment of drapery, however skilful in composition and detail, has not yet attained a complete harmony with the forms it covers. Sometimes it clings close to them, as if wet and transparent, sometimes it envelops them completely or hangs in independent and conventional folds. This relief is now in the Louvre.

Another Thasian relief, also in the Louvre, is the tombstone of Philis,¹ a work of still later date, which might perhaps find more fitting place in the next chapter. But it may be mentioned here because it shows the same essential character, combined with a still further advance in art. But some conventionalities survive in hair and drapery, and there is a flatness of surface, doubtless once helped out by pointing, but deficient in true modelling, and the consequent play of light and shade on the surface of the marble.

Samothrace.—The neighbouring island of Samothrace has yielded interesting sculptures of various periods: among these is a relief, probably from the arm of a chair, representing Agamemnon seated, while his henchmen Talthybius and Epeius stand behind his chair;² the names are written near each person. This work rather belongs to the class of primitive decorative reliefs than to free Greek sculpture; even the bands of decorative patterns above and below are like those which we see on early bronze reliefs of a decorative nature: decoration and figures alike are clumsily translated here into stone.

Before we leave the islands of the Aegean, we must notice one or two more works about which we have no certain

¹ *Ann. Inst.* 1872, Tav. L; Mitchell, *Selections*, Pl. 2, 1.

² *Ann. Inst.* 1829, Tav. C. 2; Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.* II. 1.

evidence as to provenance, though they almost certainly come from the region of Ionic influence, whether the islands or the mainland. The first of these is the relief in the Villa Albani at Rome, commonly called the Ino-Leucothea relief,¹ from a mythological interpretation now generally acknowledged to be erroneous. Most probably it is simply a tomb-stone, of somewhat larger size than usual, with a domestic scene upon it; the deceased lady is represented as playing with her children and attended by her servant. The seated figure seems at first sight almost a repetition of the seated figures, some of them on identical thrones, on the Harpy monument from Lycia; and the standing attendant repeats with a like exactness the type which we see in one of the nymphs on the Thasian relief. It might not be safe to infer from these facts alone that the relief in the Villa Albani owes its origin to the same school—we have already seen how universally early types are repeated with but slight modification—but a study of the style leads us to the same conclusion: we see here again the same full and rounded forms, the same absence of detailed modelling, the same careful and elaborate arrangement of drapery, marred by the same defects and misunderstandings; though the drapery does not envelop and conceal the forms beneath quite as completely as on the Harpy monument, it is still far from attaining to a due expression of those forms, in harmony with its own texture and folds. The whole composition, again, is graceful in design; but the child, though from its size a mere baby, is represented with the proportions of a grown woman: this is a convention which we shall meet constantly in Greek sculpture, right on to the fourth century.

Another relief, now in Naples, resembles very strongly in its design the stela made by Alxenor of Naxos in Boeotia,² but differs widely from it in execution. In that case we noticed the flatness of the surface, and the skill with which all details were drawn rather than modelled upon it. Here, on the other hand, the forms are much rounder, and it is their heavy proportions and a certain flabbiness and lack of detail in the modelling which suggest a connection with Ionic style. We know nothing as to the provenance of this relief, but subject and style alike seem to assign it to this place.

¹ Winckelmann, *Mon. Ant.* i. 56.

² Conze, *Beiträge*, etc., Taf. xi. See p. 123.

(d) *Thessaly*.—Early sculpture in Thessaly is represented by several tomb-reliefs. The best known of these comes from Pharsalus, and is now in the Louvre. Only the upper part of it is preserved, and it represents two maidens facing each other, and holding up flowers in their hands. On another tombstone, from Larissa, now in Athens, we see a youth with a broad-brimmed hat (*petaos*) on his head, and clothed with a *chlamys*

FIG. 17.—Two maidens holding flowers; relief from Pharsalus in Thessaly (Louvre).

which falls in broad simple folds over his short tunic.¹ He holds in one hand a hare, in the other a fruit (pomegranate?). A companion figure to this, of similar material, but of inferior and perhaps later work, was found in the same place, and now stands beside it in Athens.² It is a draped female, also carrying a hare. Two other examples of finer local marble³ are also in Athens, and bear the names of Fekedamos and Polyxenaia;⁴

¹ *Bull. C. H.* 1888, Pl. vi.

² *Mith.* 1887, p. 78.

³ See Lepsius, *Gr. Marmorstudien*, p. 89.

⁴ *Mith. Ath.* 1883, Taf. II. iii.

and a head of similar style still remains at Tyrnavo¹ (Phalanna). These works suffice to give a notion of the number and character of the Thessalian sculptures, though the list is far from complete. Some of the examples already quoted probably belong to the fifth century, but all alike show a local development of a peculiar style, closely related to that we have already seen in the northern Aegean Islands. Here again the most striking feature is the contrast between the excellence of composition and of the general effect, and the carelessness or deficiency in details, between the good drawing and the poor or incorrect modelling. The various reliefs vary considerably among themselves; thus in the Pharsalian relief of the two maidens we see a rendering of thick drapery which is well designed, and the youth with a hare, from Larissa, shows an excellent study of folds; but in other cases, as in the maiden with a hare, the folds are neither conventional nor natural; they seem to be cut obliquely into the surface by the artist, without study of a model and without any due regard to the character and conditions under which he is working. Thus by the folds that radiate from the breast, or that appear above and below the elbow that holds up the drapery, he doubtless meant to express the forms of the body and their impress on the clothes; but the method he has taken of doing this is unsuccessful as well as inaccurate. In all cases, even where relief is high, and therefore cut deep down or rounded at the edges, it is flat in its general surface, and there is no attempt to reach any rules or system of sculpture in relief. The artist is content to produce, by any means that he finds easy, the effect which he desires, and in this he is sometimes successful; but there is no striving after accuracy and definition of style.

(e) *Athens*.—The early sculpture of Athens is now preserved to us in such abundance that a separate section must be devoted to its study. Yet it cannot be altogether omitted here, without deranging our notion of the relations of the early schools, especially as some of the finest examples of the types which we have found to recur again and again in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands have been discovered on the Acropolis. It is impossible, for example, to separate the magnificent series of female figures found at Athens from the similar, though worse preserved, examples of the same type from Delos; and if the

Athenian statues are reserved for treatment in a later section, it is only in order that a connected view may be given of that local school of early sculpture which is now, thanks to recent discoveries, the best known to us. Here, however, it must be noted that in the earliest works of Athenian sculpture we shall find many of the characteristics that we have already seen in early Ionic art—the same heavy forms, the same absence of modelling in detail, the same superiority in the general design over the execution. It was also the Attic school which carried to their highest development the characteristics of Ionic art, and in its more advanced works attained to a grace of design and a delicacy of execution which, in their way, could hardly be surpassed. The other elements of greater strength and severity which contributed to the highest work performed by Attic artists in the fifth century may, as we shall see, be traced to a different origin; and so the Attic is to some extent a composite school. But it belongs more to the Ionic school than to any other, especially in its origin.

§ 22. II. DORIC. (a) *Crete*.—Until recently our knowledge of early Cretan sculpture was confined to the notices preserved by literary tradition. The upper part of a statue from Eleutherna¹ now gives us an opportunity of judging what the work of Dipoenus and Scyllis may have been like. At the same time we must remember that one statue cannot adequately represent the art of so large and important an island, and that marble and wood are said to have been the materials in which Dipoenus and Scyllis worked, while this statue is of rough local stone. It was probably of the usual seated type; it has not much attempt at modelling, and in its conventions, especially in the treatment of the hair, it shows remarkable resemblance to a seated figure from Tegea. The most curious thing about the hair is the way it wells out from the head just above the ear on each side, falling in a broad flat mass on the shoulders; there is almost certainly here a convention derived from the Egyptian wig. The face is merely cut out in intersecting planes, details being incised; in the mouth there is no attempt at expression, such as we see in the exaggerated archaic smile; it is merely a straight line, as in some other primitive works.

(β) *Sparta*.—The traditional notion of the Spartan character

¹ *Rendiconti della Accademia dei Lincei*, 1891, p. 599 (Loewy); *Revue Archéologique*, 1893, Pl. iii. and iv. (Joubin).

is hardly such as to lead us to expect that Sparta was in early times a centre of artistic work and influence. But our literary sources for the history of sculpture tell us not only of an

FIG. 18.—Cretan Statue (Museum, Candia). After *Revue Archéologique*, 1890, Pl. III.

elaborate artistic structure, like the Amyclaeon throne,¹ made by the foreign sculptor Bathycles of Magnesia, but also of a flourishing local school of sculptors, pupils of Dipoenus and Scyllis, whose works were to be seen both at Sparta itself and

¹ See p. 78.

at Olympia. At present, however, we are concerned only with the extant specimens of the art of Sparta, and these, though they are fairly numerous, and so confirm the evidence of literature as to the practice of sculpture in early Sparta, are of a totally different nature from the works of Spartan sculptors mentioned by ancient writers. Thus we are reduced here also to an independent treatment, based entirely on the monuments themselves.

The most primitive of these is a quadrangular block, of blue marble, narrower at the top than at the bottom, which has, on its two narrower sides, snakes curling up it.¹ On the two broader sides are scenes which reproduce types similar to those on the Argive bronze reliefs and other early works (see § 9). Thus we have a link connecting marble sculpture in relief with those primitive decorations. In each case we see a man and a woman, but their relations on one side are friendly, and she holds a wreath; on the other side he seems to be stabbing her with a sword. A possible interpretation of these scenes is to see on one side Polynices and Eriphyle, on the other Orestes and Clytaemnestra. But without more distinctive attributes it is impossible to make such identification with certainty; the same types are often repeated with varying significations. The style is too rude for any detailed analysis, but we may recognise here a roundness and heaviness of form which contrasts strongly with other examples of Spartan art. We cannot, however, recognise here a work of independent sculpture, the stela is rather to be regarded as a translation into stone of work such as we see on the small bone reliefs from Sparta published in the *Hellenic Journal*, 1891, Pl. xi.; and these again fall into their place in the series of early decorative works, in bronze, ivory, and other materials, which we have already noticed. We come next to a series which now represents for us the early art of Sparta in its most characteristic form—a series of grave reliefs,² in which the deceased is represented seated upon a throne, alone or with his wife, while smaller figures, doubtless representing his descendants, usually bring him offerings. Often he holds a cup in his hand, while the sepulchral significance is emphasised by the snake which sometimes curls up the back of his throne. We may see here in its simplest form the worship of the deified dead, which

¹ *Ann. Inst.* 1861, Tav. C.

² *Sammling Sabouroff*, Pl. i.; *Mittheil. Ath.* 1877, Taf. xx.-xxiv.

appears frequently upon later Greek funeral reliefs in the form of a banquet at which the deceased reclines. The Spartan reliefs are even more remarkable for their style than for their subject.

FIG. 19. —Spartan Tombstone, formerly in the Sabouroff Collection (Berlin).

They are worked in a succession of parallel planes, as many as five of these planes being clearly distinguishable, one behind another, and each at its edges is bounded by a cut that runs in at right angles to it, the corner being hardly rounded in

most cases; thus the face and arm of the nearest figure, and near side of his throne, are usually worked in the first or highest plane, his body and leg in the second, and so on. Modelling hardly exists, as the boundaries of these planes are mere outline drawing; but here and there, as in the shoulder or foot, there is some modelling in the intermediate surface. Details are added, incised or in relief, but in no way modify the flatness of the general surface. On the other hand, this working in planes seems to be merely a device due to the crudeness of the sculptor's attempt to render one object behind another. It is not based on any strict adherence to an accepted convention, for the respective planes are not always worked consistently throughout the relief; one sometimes merges into another where it suits the artist's convenience, and the background often curves about to suit the design, so that the strict parallelism of the planes is completely violated. Where there must be some modelling, as in the face, the features are cut out without any consideration of truth to nature in their contours, the lower outline of the jaw, for example, forming a sharp edge that would almost cut. And in the whole composition there is an angularity and stiffness of position that well accords with the angular nature of the technique.

This peculiar technique is usually supposed to be due to the influence of wood carving, and the grain of wood would certainly be a help in splitting away the surface from one plane to the next, after incising deeply the outlines of what was required to be left in the upper plane. But, on the other hand, the difficulties which meet an unskilled sculptor, when he has to represent several objects behind one another in a relief, might perhaps have led to a similar result.

(γ) *The Rest of the Peloponnese*.—The curious reliefs which we have noticed at Sparta find a parallel in a similar, but not identical, subject found at Tegea.¹ The style of this relief closely resembles that of the Spartan ones, with their curious succession of planes. The subject also is the bringing of offerings to the dead; but here, while the small worshipper and the seated wife are just as at Sparta, the principal figure reclines on a couch, of which the end only is preserved; we have thus a transition to the ordinary type of the so-called funeral banquet so common on tombstones.

¹ *Mittheil. Ath.* 1879, Pl. vii.

To return to sculpture in the round, we first notice two statues of the primitive seated type. One of these, which was found near Tegea, resembles to a remarkable degree the Cretan seated statue;¹ we find not only the same rather slender form—a great contrast to the massive proportions of the Branchidae figures—but the same conventional rendering of the hair. The face in the Tegea figure has unfortunately entirely disappeared; the drapery, with a curious border or fringed edge slanting across the chest, and ending in a tassel thrown over the shoulder, is perfectly flat, and has no indication of folds. The other statue,² which was found near Asea in Arcadia, has lost its head. The body and chair seem made all in one piece, and are remarkably square and flat; but the form again is less heavy than in the Branchidae figures. This last statue has a name inscribed on it, 'Αγεμώ; this is probably a proper name, and, if so, the statue was most likely set up as a monument over a tomb. It is much worn and weathered; but in the feet, the only part left which offer much scope for detailed modelling, it is clear that the sandals and the sinews which show between their thongs have been worked out with considerable care.

The Olympian excavations have yielded several heads, which we are probably justified in assigning to a local school of sculpture. Foremost among these is the colossal head of Hera, which probably belonged to the temple statue in the Heraeum.³ This head is in many ways of uncouth and primitive workmanship. On the head rises a high crown; over the forehead the hair is worked in flat waves, clinging close to the head. The eyes are large and flat, with lids but little in relief, and with the eyeball and iris incised with compasses, doubtless as outlines to fill in with colour; the mouth is a simple curve, thus producing the archaic smile in its most primitive form. But the bony structure of the skull seems to be distinctly felt by the artist, and, in spite of all roughness of execution, the form is clearly cut, and the expression, though exaggerated, is full of life. Two heads of Zeus from Olympia⁴ belong to a much more advanced period of art, and are interesting for the contrast which they offer between the technique of bronze and

¹ *Bull. C. H.* 1890, Pl. xi.

² 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1874, Pl. 71.

³ *Olympia*, iii. Pl. 1; Bötticher, *Olympia*, p. 237, etc.

⁴ Bötticher, *Olympia*, Pl. vi. etc.

terra-cotta. The first seems to be contained by a series of clearly defined surfaces, with their intersecting angles emphasised, while the other is softer in its outlines, and the transitions are more gradual. But in both alike we see the same slender, almost meagre, proportions.

'A bronze head from Cythera,¹ now in Berlin, shows in many technical peculiarities a resemblance to the bronze head from Olympia. But its proportions and its appearance too are very different; perhaps the resemblances may only be due to technical proceedings common to many early bronze-founders. The Cythera head probably represents Aphrodite, the goddess of the island, after a type which is found on the coins of Cnidus; but a similar type is not uncommon elsewhere,² and although a foreign dedication is likely enough at so important a shrine, it would be rash, in the present state of our knowledge, to assign it to any definite origin. But the half-shut eyes, the mouth with its very subtle triple curve, and the careful modelling of the end of the lips, can most easily be paralleled in the Acropolis statues at Athens. If this head is not Attic, we have a warning against trusting any such criteria while our evidence as to the local distinctions of early schools is so scanty.

The best preserved of all the early works found in the Peloponnese is the so-called Apollo of Tenea; its origin must in all probability be assigned to the neighbourhood where it was found. This statue is an embodiment of the nude male type, as we have already seen it in the "Apollo" of Thera and the "Apollo" of Melos; its significance is equally uncertain, though in this case there is some evidence that it stood over a grave to represent the deceased. The Tenean statue is all but perfect in preservation; it is also the most carefully executed of all the series to which it belongs. This care is not only seen in the general proportions of the figure, but also in the finish of details, such as the knees. The hair is treated in broad and rather flat waves, free from conventional spirals. In the face is an exaggerated attempt at expression which contrasts with the development given by Attic artists to the archaic smile. Here, though the eyes are convex, not flat, they are still wide open, not narrowed by the lids nor sunk in beneath the brows; the mouth is a simple curve, and there is none of the Attic delicacy

¹ Published by Brunn, *A. Z.* xxxiv., Pl. 3 and 4.

² *E.g.* for Artemis on Arcadian coins.

FIG. 30.—"Apollo" found at Tenes (Munich).

in finishing the ends of the lips—the grimace has no tendency to become an expression. In the body, the most striking feature is the downward tendency of all the lines—the sloping shoulders, and the elongated triangle of the lower part of the abdomen. There is an almost exaggerated slimness of proportion; but the figure, though lightly made, is neither weak nor emaciated; the muscles are finely developed, and the main outlines both of muscle and bone are indicated. Indeed, with the exception of the face, the work throughout is finer in details than in general proportions, and shows a careful study of the human form such as could hardly fail to lead to rapid progress in sculpture. All these are characteristics which we need not be surprised to find in a region which was soon to excel in the rendering of athletic types.

(8) *Acarmania*.—With the Corinthian colony of Ambracia, and the neighbouring town of the Amphilochian Argos, which retained the name as well as the coin-types of its mother city, we should naturally expect the art of Acarnania to be dependent on that of the Peloponnese, even apart from the tradition of the visit of Dipoenus and Scyllis to Ambracia in the interval of their work at Sicyon. The scanty remains which we possess from this region are not inconsistent with such a supposition. The most important of these are two statues of the nude male type, unfortunately both headless, which come from the temple of Apollo at Actium.¹ These have the same slightness of proportion which we saw in the Apollo of Tenea; and again the principal feature of the modelling is the indication of the bony structure beneath the flesh, especially the collar-bone and the outline of the false ribs. These characteristics, however, recur elsewhere, notably in a small Apollo from Orchomenus in Boeotia, now in the British Museum; and in general shape, especially in section, some other Boeotian statues come nearest to these of Actium. But where the examples are still so few and so scattered, it is rash to make any further inferences.

Another work from Acarnania is a grave relief, representing a poet singing to the lyre.² The interest of this, technically, lies in the fact that it is evidently a painting translated into relief; and in this process the right and left legs have changed places, so as to be out of drawing. The lyre, too, is merely

¹ *B. D.* 76. These torsoes are of island marble, probably Naxian.

² Published by Wolters, *Mith. Ath.* 1891, Pl. xi.

scratched on the background of the relief; the effect was doubtless left as much to colour as to form; we have here an extreme case of the influence of painting, as we see it, for example, on the Boeotian relief of Alxenor.

(ε) *Megara*.—Megara is represented in early sculpture by two works. The first of these is a colossal torso of the male type,¹ which, in its shape and proportions, strongly resembles the early statues from the temple of Apollo Ptous in Boeotia; only here the squareness of section which we have seen in some early works is avoided not so much by making the body circular as by cutting it away obliquely at the sides. The exaggerated slimness of the proportions and the elongation of the waist are most conspicuous here, owing to the colossal size of the statue.

The other work is the pediment of the treasury of Megara at Olympia.² This represents a gigantomachy, and is carved in the soft local limestone of Olympia. We are justified, at least until further evidence appears, in classing this as a product of Megarian art: it is unlikely that the decoration of a building destined to represent the devotion and the glory of Megara at Olympia would be entrusted to a foreigner; nor is it any proof to the contrary that this treasury, in the time of Pausanias, contained works by an early Spartan artist. The best preserved figure is the giant who was the antagonist of Zeus in the central group. In spite of the bad state of preservation, enough is left to show that the style bears out the statement of Pausanias, that the treasury was later than the primitive statues it contained. This giant, who sinks wounded on one knee, is rendered with considerable freedom and power. The old fashion of completely colouring all the figures, as well as the blue background, was here necessarily followed, owing to the inferior nature of the material. The period is probably not far removed from that of the metopes of the third series³ at Selinus, which from their subject offer the easiest comparison.

(ζ) *Selinus*.—As a colony of Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, Selinus naturally finds its place next to Megara, the mother city of both. The temples of this town have yielded a most interesting series of metopes, which are now preserved in the museum at Palermo.⁴ These metopes fall into four sets; of these the latest must be deferred until we reach the fifth century, but

¹ In Naxian marble.

² *Olympia*, iii. Taf. ii. iii.

³ See below, p. 145.

⁴ Benndorf, *Metopen von Selinunt*; *B. D.* 286-293.

the first three sets find their place here. The earliest, which perhaps show us the first attempt on the part of a sculptor to enlarge and to translate into stone the mythological scenes with

FIG. 21.—Metope of earliest series, from Selinus (Palermo).

which he was already familiar in bronze reliefs and other decorative work, cannot be placed much later than the beginning of the sixth century. Three of these are in fairly good preservation; the subjects are Perseus cutting off the head of the

Gorgon in the presence of Athena, Heracles carrying the Cercopes suspended head downwards, one at each end of a pole which rests on his shoulders, and a chariot with four horses, seen full face, with a draped figure standing on each side of the charioteer. These types are all of them common on early decorative works; the first two are very similar in style, and show the same defects and peculiarities. In all the figures the face and breast are full face, the legs, from the waist down, in profile. The heads are disproportionately large, and the proportions of the body and limbs are very heavy, though the emphasis given to the joints and muscles prevents the fleshy, almost flabby, appearance which was produced by similar proportions in early Ionic works. The hair is rendered by simple waves, without spiral curls; the eyes are large and flat, almost without any indication of lids, except in the case of the Gorgon; the ears projecting and shapeless; the mouths but slightly curved, and devoid of expression; in most cases there is a vacant stare rather than the grimace we often find in archaic sculpture. The face of the Gorgon is worked with more facility and definition, probably because it was already familiar to sculpture or rather architecture as a decorative type; and so the sculpture in this case is of a less tentative nature than in the other figures, for which the artist probably only knew models of comparatively minute size. On the other hand, we see in the body of this same Gorgon a misunderstanding on the part of the artist. In his model the Gorgon was doubtless represented as running or flying, with her legs drawn up in the customary archaic scheme; but his figure is unmistakably represented as kneeling on one knee. The little Pegasus which the Gorgon holds is very likely a part of the primitive type. The relief generally is not cut after any system, but the figures, which stand out nearly in the round, are cut in as far as is necessary in each case, and the background is not an even plane.

The third metope is very different in style, though the conditions seem to preclude the possibility of any great difference of date. The full-face chariot is a common type of early bronze relief; but the translation into stone was in this case peculiarly difficult. It is contrived, first by giving the relief much greater depth, about twice as great as in the other metopes. Then the fore-parts of the horses are completely cut out in the round, while the hind-legs, the chariot, and the charioteer are in relief

on the background. Thus the bodies of the horses are practically omitted; but when seen from in front, at a distance, the effect of the foreshortening is by no means unsuccessful. In details, too, the work seems better than in the other metopes. The eyes both of the horses and the charioteer are convex, and the lids are clearly marked; his ears are better shaped, and do not project like those of Perseus. The difference is probably to be explained by the uneven skill of the various sculptors who were set to make these metopes, probably after selected types. The whole was once covered by a brilliant polychromy, of which traces still remain; the background was blue. To appreciate the effect of these compositions they must be seen set, as at Palermo, in their massive architectural frame; to these surroundings their heavy and uncouth proportions seem to be peculiarly adapted.

The second set of metopes, of which three are preserved, or partly so, were found as recently as 1892.¹ They are not far removed in period from the first set, but their style shows different influence, and the subjects too seem to be derived from Crete. One, which represents Europa riding on the bull over the sea, in which a dolphin is swimming, reproduces almost exactly the scheme which we see on the earliest coins of Gortyna. Here there is an almost exaggerated slimness of proportion, and there seems to be almost an affectation of delicacy in many details, which contrasts strongly with the uncouthness of the earlier metopes. The same character is visible in the scanty remains of the group of Heracles and the Cretan bull, which forms another of the metopes; the third is a single figure of a sphinx, which is clearly derived from Oriental models. Indeed, the whole character of this set of metopes seems to be due to an accession of Oriental influence.

The third set of metopes, which is a good deal later, and probably belongs to the earlier part of the fifth century, is only represented by two examples, and of these the lower half only is preserved; both are scenes from a gigantomachy. In one the giant, who is fallen on one knee, resembles to some extent the giant on the Megarian pediment, but his position is far less forcible; the other is fallen on his back, and his head, which is thrown back, shows a remarkable attempt to render in the half-open mouth and the drawn lips the agony of death. Throughout these two we see a good deal of refinement and even mannerism

¹ By Professor Salinas.

in detail, but a weakness and lack of vigour alike in the conception and the execution. This is perhaps characteristic of the great cities of Magna Graecia, which were, at the end of

FIG. 22. — Metope of second series, from Selinus (Palermo).

the sixth century, at the zenith of their prosperity, and, like the Ionians of Asia Minor, had adopted a softer and more luxurious way of life than was yet known to the Greeks of Central Greece or the Peloponnese.

(η) *Boeotia*.—Literary evidence fails us in any attempt to trace the artistic influences that we may expect in the sculpture of Boeotia; and we are therefore reduced in this case to the monuments only. From these we see that in Boeotia sculpture seems to have had distinct features and an independent development such as implies a flourishing local school, subject, at the end as at the beginning, to foreign influence. The earliest extant remains of Boeotian sculpture are a portion of a seated statue from the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos, and the monument of Dermys and Citylus. Both of these are distinguished also by the presence of inscriptions of a most archaic character,¹ probably not much later than 600 B.C. The Ptoan fragment² is part of a primitive seated statue like those at Branchidae, but even squarer and less modelled; it bears the signature of an artist the last half only of whose name is preserved, —otus. This is unfortunate, for it is the earliest artist's signature which we possess. The monument of Dermys and Citylus³ is of rough material, and of the rudest and most primitive style; but in the position of the two, each with his arm about the other's neck, and in the treatment of the hair, we can see clear indications of an imitation of Egyptian models. The same wig-like treatment of the hair appears also on a head and shoulders of an early figure from the Ptoan sanctuary—possibly a portion of the same statue as the inscribed fragment just mentioned. These Egyptian features are to be noticed, for they are of importance in considering another influence which we shall later recognise.

The so-called Apollo⁴ of Orchomenus shows us Boeotian art in its most characteristic development; and it is now no longer isolated, but forms the first of a series, of which several other examples have been unearthed in the temple of Apollo Ptoos. All of these have certain common peculiarities which distinguish them from most other early Greek statues. Foremost among these peculiarities is their remarkable roundness

¹ Considerable error has arisen here as elsewhere from the unwarranted assumption that ζ is always later than γ. See *Journal Hell. Stud.* vii. p. 235. Hence some have actually asserted that Dermys and Citylus must be late. Another example of ζ on an undoubtedly primitive work refutes this view more completely than any epigraphical discussion.

² *Bull. C. H.* 1886, Pl. vii.

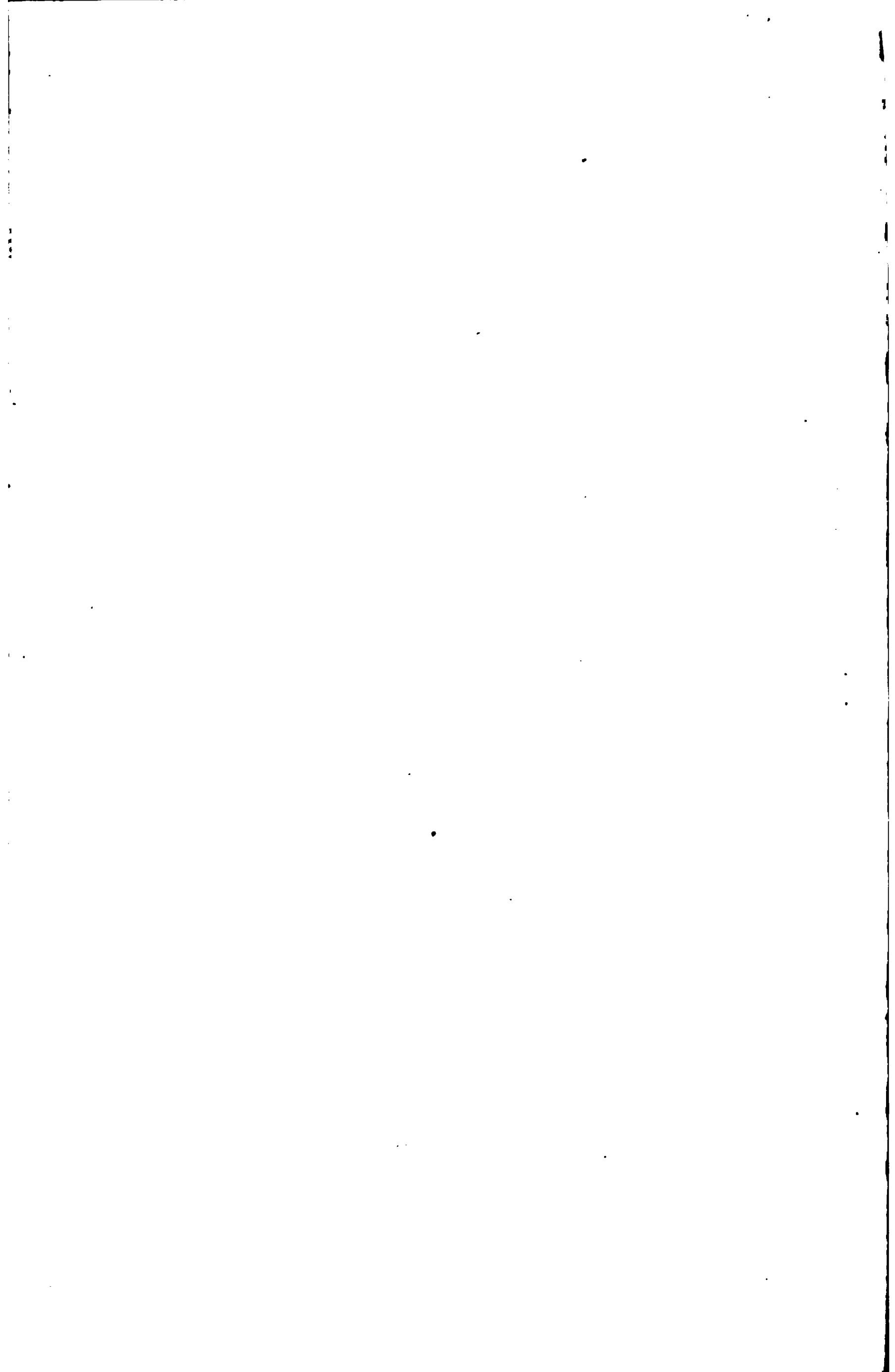
³ *Mith. Ath.* 1878, Taf. xiv.

⁴ As to the name to be given to all these statues see § 18 above, "Inherited and Borrowed Types."

of shape, such that a horizontal section through the waist would in each case give an almost perfect circle. This is a great contrast to the square or rectangular form which we have seen in other cases, and which is probably due to a system of working parallel to the sides and front of the block of marble. We also see in all alike a stolidity of expression, produced mainly by the straight line of the mouth, which is in

FIG. 23.—"Apollo" from Orchomenus in Boeotia (Athens, National Museum).

marked contrast with the "archaic smile." In the Apollo of Orchomenus we see some other features that are not repeated in the rest. In the rendering of the muscles of the abdomen there is an evident attempt to imitate nature, which has given to the surface a curious ribbed appearance; and the treatment of the back and the elbows shows a remarkably careful and naturalistic rendering of the texture of the skin.



There is also a heaviness of build and squareness of shoulders about this statue which disappears in the later examples of the same type.

Our next example, the "Apollo" Ptois, may well be regarded as a direct development from the "Apollo" of Orchomenus. Almost all the characteristic features that we have noticed are essentially the same, though there is a greater lightness and elegance of form and proportions. But there is another resemblance here which must be noticed. One of the female figures found on the Acropolis at Athens, and certainly not of Attic style,¹ is in expression and shape of face and in treatment of eyes and hair extremely like this Apollo, while her drapery resembles in treatment the columnar figure from Samos, dedicated by Cheramydes to Hera.² There is not here enough evidence for any wider inferences; but the resemblance is too close to be a mere coincidence, though its explanation is still to seek. Some other torsoes from the Ptoan sanctuary³ show the same forms that we have already noticed, but rendered with more truth to nature, muscles and even veins being carefully studied. But the same round, almost conical, shape of the chest remains.

Another statue from the same shrine is of an entirely different nature. It has a Boeotian dedication inscribed on its thighs which dates from the earlier part of the fifth century, but body and face alike show a style which is certainly foreign. The treatment of the body, with its square and compact form and clearly cut muscles, closely resembles that which we see in the Strangford Apollo and the Aeginetan pediments;⁴ and in the head, too, we see in the treatment of the hair, the shape of the face, and the expression of the mouth with its exaggerated smile, the unmistakable signs of Aeginetan or Attic influence. Nor is this the only case in which we see foreign art introduced into Boeotia. Another head from the same excavations⁵ is clearly an imitation of the Attic statues which were found on the Acropolis; and at Orchomenus has been found a tombstone with a man and a dog carved in relief upon it which bears the inscription of the Naxian artist Alxenor.⁶ We see, then, that

¹ See above, Fig. 12.

² See above, § 21.

³ *Bull. C. H.* 1887, Pl. viii.

⁴ See below, § 25.

⁵ For an account of these, and illustrations and descriptions of all the works found by M. Holleaux, see *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1886-87.

⁶ See § 21, p. 122.

FIG. 34.—Apollo from Mount Ptoon in Boeotia (Athena, National Museum).

Boeotia was at first subject to foreign influence, and reproduced clearly the characteristics of Egyptian models.¹ Then an independent local school of sculpture seems to have grown up during the sixth century, which attained considerable excellence in the development of the nude male type of statues commonly

FIG. 25.—Apollo, showing Aeginetan influence, from Mount Ptoon in Boeotia
(Athens, National Museum).

called "Apollo." But again in the fifth century this local growth seems to have been swamped by a new influx of foreign influence from Athens, Aegina, and other Aegean islands.

§ 23. *Literary Evidence: Relations of Archaic Schools.*—The last section has been taken up with an enumeration of the extant

¹ In connection with the rather indirect connection with Samos which we have seen in one instance, it is interesting to remember that Rhœcus and Theodoros of Samos were the artists who, more than any others, brought Egyptian influence into Greece. See above, § 20.

works of sculpture found in various parts of Greece. If we next proceed to notice the literary evidence which applies to the same period, we shall then be in a position to see how far the two supplement or correct one another, and what inferences it is safe to draw from either or from both combined.

The literary evidence which applies to artists of the sixth century is but scanty. We have already, in § 20, seen the nature of the information which is given us about the invention or the first beginning of sculpture in Greece, and the families or schools which were associated with it. We shall in the following sections have to deal with what we learn, from literary evidence as well as extant remains, about the schools of Athens, of Argos and Sicyon, and of Aegina. Apart from these, we hear but little from ancient authorities about the artists to whose work is due the advance from the rude beginnings and primitive types of the earliest Greek sculpture to the time just before it began to produce statues that were the admiration of all subsequent ages. Probably there were among them few, if any, of distinguished genius; but the slow and patient progress which lasted for nearly a century prepared the way for the brilliant and rapid advance which marks the beginning of the next period.

In Sparta there existed a school of which the foundation was attributed to the Cretan sculptors Dipoenus and Scyllis. Works of the Spartan masters Dontas and Doryclidas, Hegylus and Theocles, were shown at Olympia in Pausanias' time, mostly in the Heraeum and in the treasuries of the Megarians and of the Epidamnians. These are all similar in character; they were made, some of cedar wood, varied by gilding, some in the fully developed gold and ivory technique. The subjects in each case are extensive groups of mythological figures, so far independent of one another that they could be moved away; thus we hear that the Hesperids, belonging to a group with Heracles and Atlas, and an Athena, who came from a group with the combat of Heracles and Achelous, were later kept in the Heraeum. An enumeration of many other figures, separate or grouped together, seated or standing, only shows us how much of the work of these artists was preserved at Olympia, but gives us little more knowledge of their style. They seem in every way similar to the group by Dipoenus and Scyllis at Argos, which was made of ebony with details in ivory. From their material we cannot hope to find any works of this nature preserved in Greece; nor

have we any certain copies in more durable material to enlighten us as to their style or their composition. But the ambitious attempt to make what seem such complicated groups is really a survival from the earlier technique of decorative work in relief, and so does not imply a great advance in sculptural composition.

We hear of another artist, probably of the same school, the Cretan Chirisophus, who made a gilt statue of Apollo at Tegea, and also a marble statue of himself. His name makes one more link between Crete and the Peloponnese. Another Spartan sculptor, Gitiadas, probably belongs to a rather later period; his work may even be placed as late as the beginning of the fifth century, since he made two tripods at Amyclae, with figures of Aphrodite and Artemis underneath them, which matched a third made by Callon of Aegina. This fact need not imply that he was a contemporary of Callon; but his great work, the temple of Athena Chalcioecus at Sparta, was decorated with a series of reliefs which are not likely to be earlier than the similar work done by the foreign sculptor Bathycles at Amyclae. He also made the bronze statue of Athena Chalcioecus or Poliuchus.

Another clear example of a temple statue made by pupils of the Cretan Dipoenus and Scyllis is the Apollo of Delos, the work of Tectaeus and Angelion. The god held the three Graces on his left hand, a peculiar attribute which has made it possible to identify this statue on a coin of Athens,¹ which, however, reproduces it on too small a scale to give us much more than a general notion of the type. The god stood in the usual archaic attitude, with the left leg advanced; both his arms were bent at the elbow.

FIG. 26.—Coin of Athens, with the Apollo of Delos by Tectaeus and Angelion.

As to the works or the style of other sculptors of this period we know still less. Three Corinthian artists, Diyllus, Amyclaeus, and Chienis, made a group for Delphi, of Apollo and Heracles struggling for the tripod, supported by Artemis and Athena respectively.² The character of the work may well have been

¹ P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. xv. 29.

² The treatment of the same subject on the pediment of the treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi is probably different; in it Athena appears as arbitress in the middle.

similar to that of the groups made by Dipoenus and Scyllis and their Spartan pupils.

Clearchus of Rhegium has already been mentioned from the anomalous position he holds in literary evidence as a pupil of Daedalus on the one hand, and the master of Pythagoras on the other.¹ He made a bronze statue of Zeus at Sparta which was not cast, but made of plates of metal beaten out into the required shape and riveted together. The more historical date is probably the correct one; according to one version, his master, Eucheir, was the pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis, and this might well bring him down to the beginning of the fifth century, when Pythagoras was young. We must suppose that his statue was for some reason executed by a more primitive technique than was usual in his time, and hence may proceed the stories as to his extreme antiquity.

The artistic connection shown in this case between the Peloponnese and Sicily or the region immediately adjoining it is attested by other examples. Thus Polystratus of Ambracia—probably a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis—was employed by Phalaris, the famous tyrant of Agrigentum. Later on, another Peloponnesian artist, Callon of Elis, was employed by the people of Messina to make a bronze group, commemorating a chorus of boys, with their trainer and flute player, who were lost at sea on their way across to Rhegium; Callon also made a Hermes for a man of Rhegium; both these works were set up at Olympia.

Another statue which is recorded on coins is a huntress Artemis, made by Menacchmus and Soidas of Naupactus; she appears on coins of Patras, whither Augustus sent the statue.

It is clear from this brief enumeration of the literary evidence as to artists of the archaic period, that it is too scanty in amount and of too partial a character to supply any framework into which we can fit the monumental evidence. It is, indeed, insufficient even to test the inferences which we might be inclined to draw from the extant remains. But we have another method in which we can test those inferences. There is a large number of archaic statues, mentioned by Pausanias or other writers, which we can classify with ease and certainty according to the type which they represent: the consistency with which the customary types were followed by early sculptors makes this

¹ See above, p. 102.

possible. The nude male and the draped female type—at once the simplest and the commonest—offer us the easiest comparison with the monumental evidence. Here what strikes us first of all is the very great number of archaic statues recorded in the Peloponnese belonging, artistically, mostly to Sparta or Argos; among them the large majority conform to one of these two simple types, and there is about an equal number of each. In Athens, on the other hand, there are comparatively few archaic works recorded; the number is too small for us to be able to depend upon the results offered by a classification, but it may be noted that here also the examples of the two types are about equal in number.

We find that sometimes a large number of statues have survived to the present day in a place where but few are recorded by ancient writers; in some places, on the other hand, we find but scanty remains of the numerous statues recorded by Pausanias or other writers. This may often be the result of accident, but sometimes we can find a historical reason. Thus, in the case of Athens, the destruction of the early statues by the Persians, which caused their burial and therefore their preservation to the present day, is also the cause why so few of them were left for Pausanias and others to record. But, as regards the proportion of the various types recorded or preserved, no such causes were likely to operate, and so, where the numbers are large enough to offer any test, we may accept the results with some confidence.

The way in which a knowledge of the types preferred by various schools is of value to us is two-fold. In the first place, types may be characteristic of schools; thus it can hardly be a mere accident that so many examples of the draped female type have been found in Athens, and so many of the nude male type in Boeotia. But then, again, there is no doubt that the type represented affected the style of the sculptor; perhaps even the same man would use a severer and harder modelling for a nude male athlete or Apollo, and a softer and more graceful style for a female figure with its elaborate drapery; and certainly various artists of the same school would be influenced by the type which they preferred; still more so different schools, which specialised upon the study of one or another type.

When, therefore, we contrast the grace and delicacy of early Attic sculpture with the severe and vigorous style of con-

temporary Peloponnesian work, we must remember that the contrast may be exaggerated for us by accident, and that we very likely should not feel it so strongly if we had more Attic works of athletic type, or any early Peloponnesian works of the draped female type, to enter into the comparison. But although these considerations may modify our criticism to some extent, I do not think they need either annul or invert it; for it is borne out by the characteristics of the various schools when we meet them later on in a more fully developed stage.

In the last sections, §§ 22 and 23, the order of provenance has been followed almost exclusively, because we cannot distinguish the different local styles with certainty enough to enable us to classify early works of sculpture according to their schools; almost the only exception has been made in the case of statues identified by inscriptions or other certain evidence as belonging to a different place from that where they were found, as in the case of the Naxian colossus, or the statue dedicated by Nicandra at Delos, or the sculpture from the treasury of the Megarians at Olympia. In other cases, especially when the site of discovery was not one of those practically common to all Greeks, even works certainly of foreign origin have been described according to the place where they were found; an important work in such a case may show as much about the local artistic influences as one made by a local sculptor. It is, for example, of no small import for the history of art in Boeotia to know that a stela found at Orchomenus was made by a Naxian artist, and that a statue dedicated to Apollo Ptous was the work either of an Aeginetan artist or of one who had been trained in Aeginetan traditions.

A very difficult problem in local classification is offered by a group of works which has been described mostly under Samos, because the typical example is the statue dedicated there by Cheramydes;¹ and two similar statues found on the Acropolis at Athens, and representing also the most primitive variety of the female draped type, could hardly be separated, for they certainly are not Attic, though it may well be doubted whether they are Samian. A statue of the male type, which, in the face, shows a remarkably close affinity to one of the examples from Athens, the only one of its type with a head, was dedicated to Apollo Ptous in Boeotia, and has been described in its

¹ See p. 113.

proper place.¹ The term Samian has been applied to this class by some authorities ; but when we remember that for one example in Samos we have two in Athens, and that the Heraeum at Samos was quite as likely a place for foreign styles to appear as the Acropolis at Athens,² the Samian attribution is far too doubtful for us to make any inferences from it. It is safest to recognise the class and its characteristics, and to acknowledge that at present we do not know its local origin. It is possible that future excavations may decide the question.

If it is difficult to ascertain the origin of a group of works so well defined as this, we may well hesitate in other cases, where the evidence is no clearer and the affinities are less clearly marked. In the present state of our knowledge it seems wiser to be content to notice the style of the various statues that we have recovered, and the place where they were found, and to reserve further theories, however interesting and instructive, as to local schools, except in cases where the evidence is clear enough to save us from possible error. We may, perhaps, in this way miss some clues that would lead us to the truth ; but, on the other hand, we shall escape from many misapprehensions or preconceptions which may hinder us from giving its due weight to the new evidence that is constantly offered to our study.

§ 24. *Athens*.—We have already glanced at the position of the Attic school as an offshoot of the Ionic style of sculpture. We must now consider somewhat more in detail the history and the extant remains of Athenian sculpture, which, owing chiefly to the discoveries of the last few years, are remarkable both for their number and for the excellence of their preservation. Indeed, this Attic school, which a few years ago was only known to us from a few names recorded in literature, two or three more or less fragmentary statues, and two or three certain or probable copies of later date, is now represented in the museums of Athens with a completeness which makes it, for us, the most interesting of all those which flourished in early Greece. The way in which the remains of the early Attic school came to be buried and preserved to our day is described in § 28, as an illustration of the result of the Persian invasion,

¹ See p. 150.

² The dedication by Cheramyas seems to imply an Ionic origin ; the name looks like a barbarian one, probably from the neighbouring district of Asia Minor. But there is really nothing to build on in this.

both as it affected the Greeks themselves and as it has led to our possession of their productions.

Among the numerous fragments found in the excavation of the Athenian Acropolis, all coming from buildings destroyed by the Persians, one class can at once be distinguished by the nature of its material, a soft brown limestone or calcareous tufa; this was usually called *πώρινος λίθος* by the Greeks.¹ The surface of this coarse stone was always completely covered by a thick layer of paint, and thus the sculptures executed in it are to be distinguished from those made in any material meant to show. As the colour has to a great extent disappeared, what we now possess must be regarded merely as the core upon which the visible surface was to be overlaid. Before judging artistically of any such work, we must restore in our imagination, with the help of the vestiges of colour that still remain, the varied polychromy of its original state. When thus considered, it resembles work in glazed or enamelled brick or in painted terra-cotta, rather than any sculpture in stone or marble with which we are familiar. The colours most commonly used are dark red, light red, or pink (often for flesh colour), dark blue, a lighter blue, and green. We see that there is no affinity between the polychromy of early sculpture and the strictly limited colouring of early vases, with which are to be compared the four colours of Polygnotus; on the vases we usually find only white and a scale of colours exclusively brown and red, varying from cream colour to dark purple; in them blue is most unusual,² and green, so far as I know, is not used at all.³

Most of the sculptures in this rough material were decorative or architectural in character, the buildings to which they belonged being usually built also of the same stone, but covered with stucco. The remains of several pediments more or less complete may be seen in the Acropolis museum at Athens. We do not know for what temples they were made, but we can trace in their variations the development of architectural sculpture in Athens. All of them show a remarkable similarity in subjects and in composition, which may be partly due to the

¹ Known generally as *poros* in German; in French it is usually called *tuf*.

² It occurs on the Polledrara vase (probably made in Etruria; see *J. H. S.* 1894, Pl. vi. and vii., and p. 206).

³ Mr. Petrie's vases with green and other colours from the Fayum (see *Mahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, Pl. i. 2) are certainly not Greek. The polychrome lecythi are of course of later period.

exigencies of the triangular space to be filled; but the devotion of so many pediments to the deeds of Heracles on the Acropolis of Athens¹ is a fact which still awaits explanation. One of the earliest and also the most complete of these pediments represents this hero attacking the Lernaean Hydra with his club;² he stands near the centre of the composition, while the Hydra rears its snaky heads against him; its coils extend right back to the angle of the pediment. On the other side Iolaus appears with the chariot of Heracles—a device which we shall often meet with to fill out the space between the central figures and the ends of a pediment; and beyond it is the huge crab, associated with the Hydra, which fills the other angle. The design and composition of this pediment are excellently adapted to fill its space; the relief is very low, and there is little scope for modelling. Another pediment, of about the same size, but in much higher and bolder relief,³ represents Heracles wrestling with Triton—the “old man of the sea” as he is called in the Argive relief,⁴ which shows the same composition that is reproduced in all the later repetitions of the subject. We have already had occasion to quote this type as one of those inherited from the earliest times. At Athens there is yet another example, this time more than life size.⁵ The pediment which corresponds with it is the last and finest of these limestone groups, where, according to the most probable restoration, Heracles fights the snake Echidna, while his father Zeus, in the other half of the space, combats a strange three-bodied monster, the Typhon, man-headed and snake-tailed. There seems to be visible throughout these early groups a strange love for uncouth and monstrous shapes, such as seems at first very far from the usual conception of Greek art. But, in the composition, these fish-like or snake-like forms are used with great skill to meet the chief difficulty of pedimental sculpture. They fill up most naturally the corners of the pediments, and thus the artist escapes from the awkward or conventional devices which we so often meet with in these places. And the tails are also treated in themselves so as to make the most of their scaly

¹ It is perhaps not impossible that some of them may have been brought up from the lower town, with other material for filling up the ground of the Acropolis in Cimon's time. But the completeness of most of the groups tells against such a theory.

² 'Eφ. 'Αρχ. 1884, Pl. 7.

³ *Ibid.*; also *Mittheil. d. d. Inst. Athen.* xi. Taf. ii.

⁴ Fig. 2.

⁵ *Mitth. Ath.* xv. Taf. ii.

decoration, the artist exhausting all his invention in devising various schemes of form and colour to adorn them, from the broad fish-tail of the Triton to the three intertwining snakes in which the three human bodies of the Typhon are continued.

These pediments show a continuous development from the earlier to the later, but all have the same characteristics. The forms of the body are heavy and massive, but not unnatural in their general proportions. We find another feature which reminds us of what we have seen in Ionic work. The muscles and sinews are rendered, not so much by modelling, properly so-called, as by the use of broad and shallow lines, usually cut with a round chisel. These follow the lines or shadows, and so produce at a distance an effect of true modelling which, on a close examination of the surface, is seen to be produced rather

FIG. 27.—Half of pediment in rough limestone, representing Typhon (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

by incised drawing. The faces also are fleshy and heavy in form, though often remarkable for the vigorous and life-like expression. The types show but little resemblance to the severe, to some minds, too conventional beauty that is generally associated with the idea of Greek sculpture;¹ they seem rather naturalistic studies from life; and even in the details we find a great variety of treatment, as if the artist were making experiments in different effects. The eyes are usually wide open, round and prominent, according to the primitive method of giving life to the face by an actual projection of the eye itself, instead of a skilful manipulation of the muscles that surround it.² The outline of the pupil is usually, but not always, incised with a compass; doubtless it was always represented by colour. The hair too is treated with a good deal of variety, and with a

¹ It is true that the heads preserved are mostly those of monsters, but I do not think there is any attempt on the artist's part to represent them as other than human.

² See Conze, *Darstellung des menschlichen Auges in der griechischen Skulptur*.

remarkable freedom from the conventional spirals or other systems commonly found in archaic art.

Perhaps the most impressive and successful of all this series is a splendid group, which does not seem to have had any directly architectural purpose; it represents two lions¹ pulling down a bull; the colossal size of this may be estimated from the fact that the bull, from his extended hind hoof to the broken base of his horn, measures 12 feet 8 inches. The two lions have dug their claws into his back, and the blood flows from the wound in broad red streaks; the bull is coloured dark blue—doubtless a conventional substitute for black, as in the hair and beards of the Typhon and in the horses of Heracles in the Hydra pediment. Here again we see a great vigour of composition; there is no fine anatomical modelling of details, but, on the other hand, there is a treatment of surface which often gives the same effect at a distance as the finest modelling, for instance in the series of deeply cut lines on the bull's neck, or the holes cut in his muzzle, giving it a porous, velvety appearance. The lions are so fragmentary that it is difficult to judge of their general effect; but the last convulsive struggle of the bull is rendered with wonderful power, and shows a study of animal forms which, if it did not attain anatomical accuracy, is still hard to surpass in its lively and sympathetic appreciation.

To take them altogether—and they certainly seem to have a peculiar style of their own—these sculptures in soft Piræic limestone (poros) are remarkable both for choice of subject and for the manner in which it is treated. It can hardly be an accident that almost all the groups contain some monstrous form, and that the treatment in detail is such as to increase rather than to diminish the grotesqueness of the subject. Though we must doubtless allow a good deal for the naïve attempt of the artist to produce a vigorous and life-like impression, I think we must recognise in some of these works a consciously humorous intention. It is true that, as has often been remarked, when an early Greek artist attempts to represent what is terrible, he often only succeeds in attaining to the grotesque, and that expression of face often has little relation to dramatic propriety. Yet when we look at the Typhon, at once the most characteristic and the best preserved of all this

¹ Or perhaps four, to judge from the number of fragments recovered.

series, it is almost impossible to resist the impression that the sculptor must have revelled in the absurdity of the monster he was creating. Nor need we resist this impression on archaeological grounds. A humorous treatment of the subject, sometimes tending to caricature, is by no means uncommon upon early vases, and especially upon a class of vases which, though found in Italy, almost certainly come from Asia Minor, and which otherwise show many affinities with these architectural sculptures.¹

At the same time it is to be observed that, in spite of their grotesqueness, these monsters show a skill in the combination of human and animal forms which shows an accurate and intelligent observation of the different elements to be combined; we see in them both study of nature and creating after nature, just as in the wonderfully successful treatment of the Centaur which we see in later Attic art. Such composite monsters may be an absurdity, yet one cannot help feeling that, if they did exist, this is what they must be like, and that all organic difficulties in the combination are solved or concealed with the utmost ingenuity.

If we proceed next to sculpture in marble, we shall find many differences, due to the influence of the material, and also many similarities, due to the influence of the earlier technique. The marble mostly used in Athens during the sixth century came from the islands of Paros and Naxos; for the beautiful local marble of Pentelicus was not yet worked. It is not to be imagined that so precious a material would be imported in order to be so completely covered over with paint that its texture could not be seen; nor, indeed, can we imagine the Athenian artists to have so far failed to appreciate the beauty of their favourite material, even if it had been more readily obtained. Yet the habit of painting sculpture continued; and there are two ways in which this is possible, without completely hiding the texture of the marble. Either the colour may be applied only here and there—on eyes and hair, or on borders or patterns of the drapery, for example, or over the whole surface of a garment of which only a small portion is visible; or else it may cover the whole surface of the statue, but in a tint or stain, by whatever method applied, which only discolours the marble without in any way obscuring its texture or impairing the

¹ Dümmler, *Mith. Rom.* 1888, p. 166.

effect of the most delicate modelling. Both methods were used by the Greeks, and even in sixth-century sculpture we can see traces of both preserved at Athens; but the former is by far the more conspicuous, especially in the series of female statues in the Acropolis museum. In these the nude parts (face and neck, arms and feet) are always left in the pure white of the marble, just as in early vases the nude parts of female figures are often painted white by a convention probably not far removed from reality. Thus in this first step toward the use of uncoloured marble there is no real innovation; the natural colour of the material is merely allowed to serve instead of a pigment which the artist would otherwise be obliged to apply. The same is the case with the drapery, where the white marble may well represent a white stuff, decorated with woven or embroidered ornaments.

The first marble work which claims our attention was probably, like the coloured limestone groups, of an architectural character. It has been conjectured with some probability¹ that it filled the pediment of the early temple of Athena, of which the foundations are now visible to the south of the Erechtheum. The subject was a gigantomachy; the most considerable piece preserved is the upper part of a figure of Athena, with extended aegis, striking with her spear a prostrate giant. To this figure belongs the head of Athena,² which has long been known, and is quoted in all histories of sculpture as one of the typical examples of Attic art. While it remained almost isolated in its kind, it could not be assigned to any definite place in the history of Attic sculpture; but now that we possess so numerous a series of Attic statues, coming from the half-century or so preceding the Persian wars, we can judge of its relation to other works of the same school. Its full and heavy form, its round projecting eyes, and the simple curve of its mouth, with the conventional "archaic smile," remind us more of the Typhon than of most of the other marble heads on the Acropolis; and a similar impression is conveyed by the aegis, which, with its gorgeous decoration of red and blue (and green) scales, reminds us of the richly variegated

¹ By Dr. Studniczka, to whose ingenuity the piecing together and identification of this group are due. *Mitth. Athen.* 1886, p. 198.

² There is happily no doubt whatever about this join. I wish as much could be said of many others that have been made in the Athenian museums. The head is reproduced in Mitchell, *Ancient Sculpture*, Pl. I.

tails of the earlier monsters. On purely artistic grounds, we shall therefore be inclined to place this pediment among the earliest of the marble works destroyed by the Persians, and to assign it to about the middle of the sixth century—a date which accords excellently with the theory above mentioned that it belongs to the early temple of Athena, which was probably supplied with its peristyle by Pisistratus.¹

Perhaps the most remarkable discovery of recent times is the series of female draped statues found on the Acropolis of Athens—many of them together in a pit N.W. of the Erechtheum, others scattered over different parts of the Acropolis. There is no doubt that they were thrown down when the Persians sacked Athens, and were buried where they have been found when the Athenians returned to their city. It is not too much to say that these statues have revolutionised our knowledge of early Attic sculpture, of which they are the most characteristic products. The first and most natural question is to ask whom these statues represent; their number and their general similarity suggest that it ought to be easy to give an answer, if we know anything of the conditions under which they were made. We have already seen (§ 14) how universal was the custom of filling every shrine with dedicated statues, sometimes representing the divinity to whom they were dedicated, sometimes the worshipper himself. And we have also noticed (§ 18) how a limited number of types, with but little variation in early times, served the sculptor to represent different subjects; he depended mostly on the attributes or accessories to make his meaning clear. Thus we have already met with the same difficulty in identifying many statues of the nude male type; some are clearly meant to represent Apollo; others as clearly are human athletes; but in many cases we must be content to remain in doubt. In the case of these statues from the Acropolis we at least have the advantage that they cannot well be meant to represent Athena, whose attributes are well known and could not have been lost without a trace; and it is very unlikely that we should find so many similar representations of any other divinity within Athena's chosen shrine. The obvious alternative is to regard them as representing worshippers, who dedicate themselves symbolically to the goddess. Some go farther, and identify

¹ Dörpfeld, *Mith. Athen.* 1886, p. 310.

them as priestesses of Athena, or as maidens who had performed some sacred office. But no such definite record is necessarily implied: that a statue like this could be a purely conventional offering—a survival of actual sacrifice perhaps in primitive ritual—is shown by an inscription from the Acropolis, recording the offering of “a maiden” to Poseidon from a fisherman. Such offerings were probably far more commonly made to the “Maiden Goddess” herself.

To pass from the subject to the style, these statues may seem at first to be but monotonous repetitions of the same type; if we regard them in this light, we may be inclined to wish we could exchange so many examples of one kind for a selection more varied in subject. But, for the development of sculpture, which we are here trying to follow, nothing could be so instructive as a series of this sort, a series which offers exceptionally definite evidence both as to the time and the place to which it must be assigned. For a more careful study shows that, in spite of their general similarity of type, these statues are not really very like one another, much less identical. Every one shows, within the prescribed limits, the most remarkable individuality of treatment, though they show quite enough affinity to one another, and difference from statues of this type found at Delos or elsewhere, to justify us in describing them without hesitation as the work of a distinct local school.

To follow out in detail the individual peculiarities of the different statues would lead us much too far, and would require most elaborate illustration. Here we are rather concerned with such features as are common to the whole series, though we can also trace a decided development from the earlier to the later, that is to say, from those which show a more primitive character to those of a more advanced style; in an age of so rapid development it is always possible that a statue which appears at first sight the earlier may actually have been made later, by an old sculptor who clung to the traditions of his younger days, or under the influences of religious conservatism.

The type, as distinguished from its treatment, varies very little throughout the series. All alike stand erect, looking straight to the front. The left foot is slightly advanced, and both soles are planted firmly on the ground. The right arm is usually bent forward at the elbow so that the lower arm is

FIG. 23.—Draped female statue (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

horizontal; the hand probably held some offering or attribute. The left hand usually gathers together the loose drapery of the skirt close to the left thigh, and stretches it tightly so as to cling close to the legs, thus producing a marked contrast to the rich folds of the drapery that surrounds the upper part of the body and hangs down at the sides. In some cases there are slight varieties of pose, the action of the two arms for instance being reversed,¹ or both being raised from the elbow. Such varieties need in no way surprise us; they occur also in the corresponding nude male type; a greater constancy in the pose of the female draped type is due chiefly to the motive of the hand supporting the drapery at the side.

One of the chief attainments of the early Attic school is an extraordinary elaboration and delicacy in the arrangement and treatment of drapery. The garments represented are not the same on all the statues, but most of them conform to one or other of two or three usual schemes. In the commonest of these, followed by a great majority, the chiton is secured by a series of brooches or buttons, so as to form sleeves from shoulder to elbow, and is ornamented with bands of embroidery or woven borders. Over this is a peplos, often folded over at the top to form a diplois,² which is passed under the left arm and fastened, often, like the chiton, by a series of brooches or buttons on the right shoulder. It falls in ample folds on both sides, and it is in the rendering of these that the Attic artist spends so much skill. The band from which the peplos hangs across the breast is usually elaborately decorated, and is arranged in a manner impossible for a simple garment, such as we are accustomed to expect in Greek drapery (Fig. 28). Unless the artist has departed, in his artistic convention, much farther from his models than is probable, we must suppose the peplos, however simple in its origin, to have been an elaborately made-up garment as worn by Athenian ladies in the sixth century. This is but one more indication of the artificial and over-elaborate tendencies of Attic taste at this time, which contrast so strongly with the reaction in the next century under Doric influence, towards severity and simplicity.

We can only notice here one or two other varieties of dress.

¹ This point has by some been made a criterion of origin, but without sufficient reason.

² The identity of patterns on the lower part and the diplois proves that the whole is one garment, not two, as has often been supposed.

The smallest modification of the ordinary scheme is to fasten the peplos on both shoulders instead of only one; then if the artificial band at the top be omitted, it becomes practically indistinguishable from the Doric chiton. In another arrangement there is no over-garment, or only a small shawl thrown over the shoulders; then the chiton, which, as in all the other cases, is represented as being of a ribbed or crimped texture

*My Mother
used this style*

FIG. 29.—Draped female statue (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

where it fits loosely over the breast, is usually drawn up through the belt so as to hang down in an ample fold or *κόλπος*, while below this it is strained tight over the legs by the hand that supports it at the side, and thus its crimped texture disappears (Fig. 29). The arrangement of the drapery, in its zigzag folds and in the variety of texture in different parts, is a mass of conventions; but within the established schemes we often find

here and there a piece of very careful study after nature. Here, as throughout the history of archaic art in Greece, freedom and accuracy of work in detail precedes any general advance towards freedom of type and of composition.

But if the sculptors in marble of the early Attic school are remarkable for grace and delicacy in their treatment of drapery, the care and skill which they devote to the modelling of the faces are yet more worthy of observation. Indeed, we may say without exaggeration that while the artists of the athletic schools were devoting themselves to the study of the nude, and learning to render with accuracy the muscular structure of the human body, the sculptors of the Acropolis statues were already seeking, however inadequately, to make the outward form an expression of the mood or character. It was only to be expected that the more ambitious nature of the attempt would often lead to failure, or to only partial success; and, indeed, it must be acknowledged that it came too early in the development of art; but it is none the less instructive for that, in the light it shows on the tendencies of the Attic school during this early period. Had the early Attic sculptors been completely isolated, these tendencies might well have led to a too rapid development in the direction of grace and facility, leading probably to a premature decadence, of which we may even see some traces in those artists who preserved in an uncontaminated form the traditions of the school; but we shall see how, in fact, the outside influence of an art severer and less refined arrested this luxuriant growth, and added the strength of the athletic schools to the refinement and delicacy which were always pre-eminently characteristic of Attic art. It was not without good reason that tradition called Phidias the pupil of Ageladas of Argos, as well as the fellow-countryman of Calamis.

The treatment of the face in the earlier marble statues is not far removed in character from that which we have noticed in the early sculptures in rough limestone. We see the same wide-open and staring eyes, but they are already treated with more moderation; though they are not sunk in beneath the brows, they do not project unnaturally, like the eyes of the Typhon or of the Athena in the early marble pediment (Fig. 30). The mouth too is a simple curve, and the lips are terminated in a vertical line, without any transition to the modelling of the

FIG. 30.—Draped female statue, of primitive shape (Athena, Acropolis Museum).

cheeks, which is also simple, and without much play of surface. In fact, we can see, in the treatment of the face as well as of the rest of the body, very little difference between these early examples from Athens and other specimens of the draped female type. It seems merely to have been adopted at Athens as elsewhere, without the addition of any peculiar stamp to distinguish it as belonging to the local school. Yet there is no sufficient reason to regard any of these statues as of foreign origin—with one or two clearly marked exceptions. Still less is there evidence to connect them with any of the foreign artists, mostly from Ionia, whom we know from inscriptions to have worked in Athens. The whole number form a single connected series, and we are certainly justified in assigning all alike to the place where they were found. Within the series a gradual development is visible, not always along the same lines, but always in accordance with the same tendencies. The desire of the artist seems always the same, to modify the stare or grimace of archaic work into an expression; and in order to do this he is constantly introducing new refinement and delicacy into the rendering of various details, without ever giving up the general character of the type. The first step is the narrowing of the eyes from the round wide-open stare of the early statues; sometimes they become almond-shaped; in the more extreme cases we find a conventional affectation in the S-shaped curve of both lids (Figs. 28, 29). The change is analogous to the one which we see on early Attic vases, where the eyes of women become almond-shaped, while those of men remain round and staring. It implies that the artist has, in part at least, realised a most important fact—that the expression of the eye depends not on itself but on its surroundings. The large and prominent eyes of primitive sculpture are a naïve recognition, on the part of the artist, that the eye is a prominent feature in any face. In the next stage he has observed that the glance becomes more concentrated, and the expression more lively, when the space between the lids is narrowed. But it is not until far later that he realises how the eye becomes most impressive when deeply overshadowed by the brow; in early statues, even when narrowed, it still remains but slightly sunk beneath the brow, and is not set deep enough to be true to the actual form, far less to gain any effect of shadow. Another treatment of the eye is to leave it as a roughly-shaped projecting mass, without

attempting to indicate the eyelids or to add any detailed modelling; the effect must have been left entirely to the colour which was applied, and as we have no example in which the colour is well preserved, the success of the experiment cannot well be estimated. In the treatment of the mouth we see much the same tendency as in the treatment of the eye. Here again the artist seems to feel that in the type as used by his predecessors there is a grimace rather than an expression, and tries to escape from this by elaboration and delicacy in the modelling of details. He complicates the curve of the mouth; it is no longer of a simple shape, varying from a straight line turned up at the ends to an arc of a circle, but is divided into three curves; the central bend is supplemented by a smaller and shallower one at each side. The extremities of the lips offer another point of the utmost difficulty to the early sculptor, and here too the Attic artist displays all the subtlety of his skill. He is no longer content to let the lips be cut off at the end by a vertical line, but he works them off by an imperceptible transition into the surface of the cheek, usually with the help of a small subsidiary curve beyond those we have already noticed. The whole modelling of the face, too, is softer and rounder, and the result in some instances, where the narrow eyes seem to have almost too intense a glance, and the fulness of the curved lips adds to the expressiveness of their smile, is an exaggeration no less than that which the artist was striving to avoid by the delicacy of his finish. It is in a sense realistic, but after an unpleasant manner, and we are fully prepared for the reaction which we shall find in the next century, under the influence of a severer and stronger if less graceful style.

But before this reaction came, what we may reasonably call the pure Attic art of the sixth century produced some works which are of great beauty, though not free from archaic stiffness. The most remarkable of these is a head discovered on the Acropolis just before the great find of 1886 (Fig. 31). It belongs undoubtedly to the same series, of which it is the most advanced example. Here we see all the tendencies which we have noticed in the rest, but entirely free from the exaggeration which they sometimes display. The eyes are not yet sufficiently thrown into shadow, though their form is natural and free from affectation; but it is above all in the modelling of the mouth and cheeks that the sculptor has excelled; there

FIG. 31.—Head of draped female statue (Athens, Acropolis Museum). After *Museo d'Athene*, Pl. xiv.

is an extraordinary delicacy and skill in his treatment of the archaic smile, which, in his hands, has really become a half-conscious expression, and in the modelling of the cheeks, especially round the end of the lips, there is a delicate play of surface which shows that skill in the working of marble peculiarly characteristic of Attic sculptors.

So far we have treated the whole of the Acropolis statues as forming one series, the product of a single school, though varying in period, and so showing a considerable advance from the earlier to the later. This view is in the main correct; but at the same time it is possible to classify the various statues within the series, and so to distinguish different subdivisions of the school. To attempt a classification by any one detail of treatment, of hair, eyes, mouth, or drapery, or even by the general proportions of the figure, would be fallacious; in an age when all were learning rapidly from their models both in nature and in art, and also from one another, any successful experiment or new observation must often have been transmitted by one sculptor to another, or borrowed in imitation of an exhibited work. But if we classify them according to several different indications, and then find that the different classifications coincide, we may conclude that we really have found a distinction beyond the influence or caprice of the moment. Such a distinction comes out most clearly in the case of some of the earlier examples. Thus there are two or three figures remarkably square in shape,¹ which also have wide-open staring eyes and a peculiar treatment of the hair in the long tresses that fall on the shoulders (Fig. 30); these tresses zigzag slightly from side to side and are divided by wavy lines which follow their length. This class has in many ways the most primitive appearance, and in it the peculiarly Attic characteristics are least marked. We may safely conclude that it shows us the common type as it was first taken over and reproduced by Attic artists. Again, the most exaggerated form of the Attic type, with the full and richly carved lips and the narrow, almost leering, eyes, is found in combination with other characteristics in detail, such as a rendering of the tresses on the shoulders by alternating cuts at

¹ This statue, Fig. 30, approximates in the flatness and squareness of its lower drapery to a figure like the primitive one from Delos (Fig. 14). But I do not think the general character of this statue is archaistic. In the treatment of face, and texture of hair and drapery, it finds its natural place among the earliest of the Acropolis series.

the side and on the front, across their length (Fig. 29). It would be easy to follow out such points as this on a scale far beyond the limits of the present work; hardly anything is more instructive than a minute study of an extensive series of works like these, which at first sight impress the spectator with their general similarity, but are constantly revealing new differences upon closer observation. What we see above all in this set of female statues is the growing skill of the Attic sculptors, by whose hands the working of marble was brought up to the highest perfection it has ever reached. It is true they worked in imported material, mostly from Paros, and had not yet adopted the almost, if not quite, equally beautiful marble of their own Pentelicus; but in the finest examples even of this early marble work we can see a soft and delicate modelling and a play of light and shade upon the surface which show that they had already completely realised the possibilities of the material, though it is only treated here and there with perfect skill. The early Attic artists also devoted themselves especially—at least so far as we can judge from this set of statues—to two things: the study of an extreme refinement and delicacy in the arrangement and rendering of drapery, and the modification of the archaic smile into an expression full of life. But in both cases there was a tendency to exaggeration or to over-elaboration in their work which led not unnaturally to a reaction, early in the fifth century, towards simpler and severer models. The first traces of this reaction will meet us before the end of this section; but before we come to them we have still to notice the treatment of some other types by this early Attic school, though what we have already observed probably shows its most characteristic work.

So far we have been concerned exclusively with female draped figures; but these are not the exclusive product of the Attic school, even in what is preserved to us. The earliest statue in marble on the Acropolis represents a man, nude but for a chlamys thrown over his shoulders, on which he carries a calf, holding its fore and hind legs with his hands in front of him. The material is Hymettian marble, and the work is rough and coarse, with none of the refinement that seems to have been induced by a finer material like Parian. The artist evidently trusts a good deal to the addition of colour, as in the rough limestone sculptures. The eyes, of which the iris and pupil are

hollowed out for the insertion of other materials, are wide and staring, and the mouth a simple curve. The proportions are not so heavy as in the Typhon and other works more directly under Ionic influence; the muscles of the body are rendered by conventional divisions of the surface, without much attempt at modelling. The calf is rendered, on the whole, with more success than the man, but that the anatomy of its joints seems to have been misunderstood. The basis of this statue has recently been discovered, and contains a dedication in very

FIG. 32.—Statue of man carrying calf, dedicated by (?) Conbos
(Athens, Acropolis Museum).

archaic letters, which shows it to belong to the first half of the sixth century. Its subject has been a matter of some dispute; here, as in other cases, it is possible to doubt whether the sculptor intended to represent a god, or a worshipper bringing his offering for sacrifice. The latter seems the more probable theory; and, if so, the statue may be regarded as either a record of an actual offering, or a symbolical substitute for one. But such figures were sometimes used, whatever be the origin of the symbolism, to represent the god and the object of his care, as in the case of Hermes bearing a ram (Criophorus), as the patron of flocks.

Two male heads, one in Paris and one in Copenhagen, may be taken as typical examples of the treatment of the male type by early Attic artists at different periods. Both come from Athens. The first, commonly called from its owner the Rampin head,¹ corresponds in period to the earlier of the female statues on the Acropolis, and is clearly a product of the same school. The eyes are wide open, the mouth a simple curve, and the hair is arranged after a system which finds its nearest analogy in some of the same figures, but the manner of rendering is somewhat different, and more like that we see in the man with the calf; it resembles long fillets, bound in at intervals; the beard is simply a closely packed mass of small knobs. The other head, in the Jacobsen collection at Copenhagen,² is a work much freer and later in style; but it is interesting to notice that although the curve of the mouth is more complicated, the eyes still remain wide open, and are not narrowed as in the female statues—a distinction of sex apparently kept up in sculpture as well as in early Attic vases. The hair forms a simple roll over the forehead, as in later works; but this head is clearly a work of the purely Attic school, untouched by foreign influence.

Another early work is a torso found in Athens, though not on the Acropolis, and representing the common nude male type;³ it is chiefly remarkable for the exaggeration of a characteristic which we have already observed in the modelling of the nude by early Ionic and Attic sculptors. Here, on the lower part of the body, the division of the muscles is indicated in the crudest possible manner by a mere vertical cut, crossed by three horizontal ones; there is not the least attempt even to soften it into a groove. Otherwise the form of the body is almost without modelling in detail; it is nearly square in section. On a figure of a rider⁴ found on the Acropolis there is a similar rendering, by mere incised grooves, of the outline of the false ribs and of the abdominal muscles. This is the earliest of a whole series of horsemen, in which it is possible to trace a continuous development in the treatment both of rider and horse. Another example, which from its style is also among the earliest, shows a rider with close-fitting and brilliantly-coloured leggings, decorated all over in a lozenge pattern; he is evidently a bar-

¹ *Monuments Grecs*, 1878, Pl. i.

³ *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1887, Pl. i.

² *Ibid.* 1877, Pl. i.

⁴ *Mus. d'Athènes*, Pl. xii.

barian, perhaps meant to represent a Scythian or Persian archer¹ (Greek artists were not careful as to the accuracy of national costume in barbarians). The pattern reminds us of the scales on the tail of the Typhon and other monsters, and on the aegis of the Athena from the early marble pediment. In later examples,² both horse and rider rapidly improve in life and truth to nature; the choice of subject again seems characteristic of the early Attic school, which here once more leads up to its culmination in Calamis, whose skill in the rendering of horses was equal to that he showed in the faces and drapery of women.

We possess also several reliefs of this same early Attic school, which are of less value to us now that we have so many free statues by the same masters, but which in some instances are still among the best examples of their style. For Attic relief work, the slab representing a man mounting a chariot³ is still characteristic. It shows a careful, almost over-elaborate study of drapery, here in a figure in gentle motion; and the rich curving folds of the cloak, which indicate also the limbs below them, are another indication of the excellence in such effects which the Attic school would later attain; a somewhat similar, though much simpler effect is seen in a draped male figure on the Acropolis; both have the same convention, not uncommon in early work of the more advanced schools, by which a mass of drapery is covered with a large number of parallel folds, serving to indicate or emphasise its modelling.

Some of the early tombstones with reliefs are also valuable for their artistic style; and there is less difference between them and dedicated or other statues in early times than in the fourth century, when their manufacture was a regular trade, mostly left to an inferior class of artists. A head of a youth carrying a large round disc (or quoit) on his shoulder,⁴ so that it forms a quaint background to his head, almost like a nimbus in effect, is among the earliest of these monuments. It shows us the early Attic profile in a pronounced form. The eye is wide open, and represented as if full face; the nose very prominent and swollen at the end, and the mouth drawn up into a crude smile; while the

¹ *Jahrb.* 1891, p. 241. By some this has been called an Amazon; but, though the upper part of the figure is lost, enough remains to show it is intended to be male.

² *Jahrb.* 1894, pp. 135-156.

³ Not, as some have supposed, a woman. The rich drapery is the origin of the mistake. Cf. *Jahrbuch*, 1892, p. 54, where Hauser identifies it as Apollo.

⁴ *Att. Grabreliefs*, iv.

angular modelling of cheek-bone and chin give a more vigorous, though less soft, effect than most other early Attic works in marble. But the most interesting of all these monuments is the stela with the standing figure of Aristion in relief, the work of the sculptor Aristocles. The inscription shows this relief, which was found on a tomb near Marathon, to belong to the latter years of the sixth century; and it shows just the same character of work as the finest of the female statues on the Acropolis. The mistakes in it, such as the incorrect drawing of the right hand, and the representation of the eye as if full face, are simply due to an imperfect mastery of the exigencies of relief; but the grace and dignity of the general effect are so impressive as to have induced Brunn, forty years ago, to infer from this stela alone that these characteristics belonged in a peculiar degree to Attic work, as opposed to the finer study of nature in details which marks the Aeginetan style. In the modelling of the right arm there is a delicate finish of the surface, and a play of light and shade such as can only be paralleled at this period, or indeed at any other, among the work of the Attic sculptors in marble. The finish is so subtly adapted to the material as to be practically invisible in a plaster cast. In the expression of the face, and especially of the mouth, there is again a strong resemblance to the finest of the purely Attic female heads on the Acropolis. While the archaic smile appears, so far as mere form goes, to be preserved, its effect is entirely changed; and the gentle, almost melancholy expression of the warrior who stands fully armed on his tombstone is strangely inconsistent with the apparently

FIG. 82.—Stela of Aristion, by Aristocles (Athens, National Museum).

inadequate type into which it is infused. Aristocles may still be classed among the most representative of the early Attic masters, who aimed at grace and delicacy of detail, at expression in the face, and harmonious effect generally, without any daring innovations or violent departures from the simple types of archaic art.

Before we proceed to the new development of the Attic school, which took place at the beginning of the fifth century, partly under foreign influence, partly in the new outburst of political and artistic activity at home, it will be as well to give a brief review of the literary evidence, so far as it concerns the earliest Attic school. The only artist's name we have yet mentioned is that of Aristocles, appended to the stela of Aristion. Other names of sculptors that appear on bases found on the Acropolis are partly those of known foreign artists, such as Theodorus (probably of Samos), Archermus of Chios, and Callon and Onatas of Aegina. Endoeus also uses an Ionic Σ at so early a period that he has been supposed to be an Ionian. Among Attic artists are Thebades, Euenor, Antenor, Hegias, Eleutherus, Philo, Euthycles, Gorgias, Leobius, and perhaps Alcmaeon. None of these except Antenor and Hegias were even known to us by name before; nor do the mere names inform us of much except the scantiness of our sources of literary evidence. Of Endoeus, Antenor, and Hegias there is more to say.

We have already met with Endoeus as a companion of the mythical Daedalus.¹ His name must have come into this connection as representative of early Attic art; at any rate his historical existence is now amply proved. He made the statue of Athena Alea at Tegea, which was entirely of ivory, and the seated image of Athena Polias at Erythrae of wood; in front of her temple stood Graces and Hours, which Pausanias asserts to offer by their style the clearest proof of the workmanship of Endoeus. The image of Artemis at Ephesus is attributed to him also, probably by mistake. He made a seated Athena dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens by Callias; and an archaic seated Athena found on the Acropolis² may be this identical work, but the identification is very conjectural, since more than one seated figure answering to the description has been found. In any case, however, these seated Athenas may

¹ See above, § 20, p. 102.

² Lebas, *Mon.* Fig. i. 2; Overbeck, Fig. 24.

give us a notion of the kind of work we might expect from Endoeus. In general treatment of figure and drapery there is a pretty close resemblance to the standing female figures; but the seated position suggests a contrast with other early seated figures, such as those of Branchidae. This Attic Athena no longer seems part of a single block with her throne, but she seems to have an independent existence, "to have sat down on it and to be able to get up again," as Brunn puts it. The advance is due partly to a more complete realisation of the forms beneath the drapery, in part also to the careful study of texture, and the various rendering of the surface of different materials which is so marked a characteristic of Attic art even at this early date, as well as during later periods.

We have seen that tradition represents Endoeus as a typically Attic sculptor, nor is his wide artistic activity, in Ionia as well as the Peloponnese, inconsistent with an Attic origin; he may have become familiar with the Ionic alphabet abroad, and so have merely anticipated in one instance¹ the introduction of the Ionic ξ which so many artists used in the fifth century before its official recognition. And the sculptors of the neighbouring island of Aegina were often employed on even more distant commissions. Still, if he was really an Ionian, his presence in Attica is not hard to explain. We have already seen that Attic art is a branch of Ionian in its origin, and the presence of other Ionic artists in Athens is well attested; Endoeus must at least have made Athens his adopted country.

Antenor was the sculptor who made the original bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the slayers of the tyrant Hipparchus. To these we must soon recur. But we must first notice the inscription bearing his name on the Acropolis at Athens; it occurs on a basis which shows, from the shape of its socket, that it supported one of the draped female statues of which so many have been found. It is very interesting to learn that Antenor was among the sculptors who made these statues, and we can infer the nature of his style, in a general way, from what is common to all of them. Perhaps it is possible to go even farther: the largest and one of the best preserved of them has actually been mounted on the basis with

¹ He only uses it in one of his two inscriptions, *'Αρχ. Δελτιον*, 1888, p. 208; but the other contains an epitaph to a foreign woman in Ionic dialect, though Attic alphabet.

the name of Antenor; and though there are some grave objections to the connection of the two, their exceptionally large size and general correspondence in shape has led to its general acceptance.¹ The statue is a simple and dignified figure, with more breadth and less elaboration than most of its companions. One would gladly recognise it as the work of one of the best-known artists of the early Attic school; but in the uncertainty

FIG. 34.—Relief on a marble throne from Athens, representing Harmodius and Aristogiton (Broom Hall).

of its identification, it is best not to argue from the characteristics of this particular figure as to the style of Antenor, though we may safely assert that he must have made a statue not very different in character.

The bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton by Antenor were carried off by Xerxes when he sacked Athens in 480 B.C. When the Athenians restored their ruined city, they had new

¹ For reproductions of this statue, see *Berlin Antike Denkmäler*, I. 53; *B. D.* 22. That the connection, first suggested by Dr. Studniczka, is probable, but not certain, is the conclusion of Dr. Wolters, who sums up the controversy in his publication of the statue in the *Berlin Antike Denkmäler*, I. v. p. 44. See Studniczka, *Jahrb.* 1887, p. 135; *Bilder*, 1888, p. 261; *J. H. S.* 1889, p. 278, and 1890, p. 215; and *Mittheil. Ath.* 1888, p. 226, and 1890, p. 126.

statues of the heroified slayers of the tyrants made by Critius and Nesiotes ; the original group by Antenor was restored to Athens by Alexander the Great or one of his successors, and the two appear to have stood side by side in the days of Pausanias. We have various copies of this group, on the shield of Athena on a Panathenaic vase, on a marble chair from Athens,¹ and on an Athenian coin ; in all of them we see two figures in rapid advance against the tyrant, the younger impulsively rushing forward with upraised sword, the elder, who is bearded, seeming to support and to protect him, holding his chlamys advanced as a shield on his left arm, while his right holds his sword in reserve. With the help of these reproductions, Friederichs recognised a full-size copy of the two figures of Harmodius and Aristogiton in a marble group at Naples, which had been restored as two combatants fighting one another. As soon as they were placed side by side, the resemblance to the smaller copies could not be mistaken. And so we possess a good copy of this group, complete all but the bearded head of Aristogiton, for which in modern times a fine but most inappropriate Lysippean head has been substituted on the Naples statue. The next question to be considered is whether these copies reproduce the work of Antenor, or that of Critius and Nesiotes ; and we must, I think, assign them to the latter pair of sculptors. Unfortunately it appears impossible to prove that the date of any of the copies is earlier than the restoration of Antenor's figures, and so this evidence cannot be used. But the group by Critius and Nesiotes, set up in one of the most conspicuous places in Athens, was so familiar from 477 B.C. until Hellenistic times that it probably had established a type for the tyrannicides which could not be superseded even by the return of the earlier group. So bold and vigorous a composition seems improbable in the cycle of Antenor and his associates, as far as we can judge from their extant works ; but it is fully in accordance with the new life which was inspired into Attic art at the beginning of the fifth century by both home and foreign influences, and of which Critius and Nesiotes appear to have been among the most active exponents.

Lucian's description of the style of Hegias, Critius, and Nesiotes, is completely borne out by the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton. The works of these sculptors, he says, are

¹ Brought by Lord Elgin to England, and now at Broom Hall.

FIG. 85.—Copy after group of Harmodius and Aristogiton, probably by Critius
and Nesiotes (Naples).

“concise and sinewy and hard, and exact and strained in their lines.” It would be difficult to improve on this brief criticism. The Naples tyrannicides are not compact and neat in figure like the Aeginetan sculptures, but they show the same dry and accurate rendering of the muscles. The athletic training seems here also to be carried to such a pitch that there is not only no superfluous flesh, but hardly enough to cover the sinews and veins, which show clearly through a mere envelope of skin. The positions of the two statues are stiff and angular, in spite of their vigorous motion; and this characteristic combines with the hard treatment of surface to produce a distinct severity of style. But the figures are largely, even grandly proportioned, so as to give an impression of heroic form and stature, even beyond what is implied by the scale of the statues, greater than life. In this respect we may recognise an idealising tendency which distinguishes the Attic work from that of Aegina, otherwise so similar. Even in rendering a subject so near to the life of their own day, Critius and Nesiotes seem to show a desire to make their heroes greater and nobler in form than the men they saw around them, while the Aeginetan sculptors, even when representing the mythical heroes of Troy, adopt a system of proportion and a style more finished and complete in itself, perhaps, but less full of promise in the artistic aspirations which it shows.

The head of Harmodius appears at first sight much less advanced in style than the bodies and limbs of the two tyrannicides, yet we cannot regard this as an argument in favour of attributing the group to the earlier of the two possible dates. For this head cannot be assigned to its place at all easily among the series of early Attic heads which we possess from the latter years of the sixth century. The severe and simple modelling, the heavy forms, the clearly marked outline of the jaw-bone, the eyes, not sunk in below the brow, but bordered by strongly projecting eyelids, which, again, are separated from the flesh under the brow by an incised curve, the almost straight line of the mouth, which bends, if at all, more down than up towards the corners—all these are indications which we meet again and again in Attic works of the earlier years of the fifth century, and which are certainly to be attributed to the influence of the severer Peloponnesian art—an influence the more readily accepted because of a

FIG. 36.—Copy after statue of Aristogiton, probably by Critius and Nesiotes;
the head from a later statue (Naples).

natural reaction against the excessive elaboration and delicacy towards which pure Attic art was already tending. The various examples of this tendency do not resemble one another at all closely, though they all show the characteristics just enumerated; it is clear that several sculptors, of different artistic character and considerable originality, were all working in the same direction, at a time when Phidias and Myron, who were to succeed and perfect their work, were both beginning their artistic career by going to study under Ageladas at Argos.

One of the set of female statues from the Acropolis belongs distinctly to this new style. At first sight it may not seem so very different from the rest of the series to which it apparently belongs, but a closer study shows that it is really distinguished from them in every one of the points above mentioned as characteristic. Its charm is due to simplicity, not to delicacy and subtlety of modelling. The treatment of the mouth is clearly marked in its contrast to the wavy lines curling up to the corners that we see in the other female heads on the Acropolis. Here it consists merely of two shallow curves, tending downward at the outer ends and at the middle, where the two are joined together at an angle. The projecting eyelids also offer a strong contrast to the other female heads. The application of colour to the dress is not in a merely decorative design along the borders, but consists of a procession of chariots, doubtless represented as being woven into the texture or embroidered on it.

A male head on the Acropolis, probably that of a youthful athlete, is in every way the counterpart of this female head. The style is extremely similar, though not identical; the chief technical difference is in the treatment of the eye, which is still under the shadow of a strongly projecting eyelid; but the eyelid projects in one piece from beneath the brow, instead of being bordered by an isolated ridge which, in effect, would rather represent the eyelashes than any modelling of flesh after nature. In all these varieties we see the attempts of the artist to throw the eye into shadow; he has realised that his predecessors erred in making it too prominent, but has not yet hit on the device of sinking it deeper in under the brow. The hair is arranged according to a characteristic athletic coiffure of the period; it is drawn from the back in two long plaits, which encircle the head

FIG. 37.—Draped female statue, showing Doric influence (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

and are joined over the forehead, and a kind of fringe of short hair covers them in front, a device for shadowing the forehead, as the eyelids shadow the eyes.

A third head of the same class, according to the characteristics we have observed, but again very different in effect, is a small one in bronze.¹ Seen from the front, the face is narrow and almost wedge-shaped, but the profile is full and rounded; the

FIG. 38.—Head of Ephebus (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

mouth is remarkably like that of the simple girlish head in marble that we have just noticed. In impression and general effect, this head is like that of the Apollo at Olympia, and certainly shows a common influence. These few specimens will suffice to exemplify the simpler and severer style which becomes prevalent in Athens at the beginning of the fifth century, and which we are justified, both by monuments and literary authority, in attributing to Hegias, Critius, and Nesiotes, and their associates. Hegias² is coupled by Quintilian with Callon of Aegina as an example of the severe archaic style; we have

¹ *Mus. d'Athènes*, Pl. xvi.

² For the question whether Hegias was the master of Phidias, see note to § 84.

already noticed the similar and more trustworthy criticism of Lucian, which associates him with Critius and Nesiotes. He was known at Rome by his statues of the Dioscuri, brought from some Greek site; he also made a Heracles at Parium, and statues of boys riding, which remind us of the horsemen from the Acropolis. Critius and Nesiotes also made a statue of the athlete Epicharinus, and inscriptions at Athens attest other works by their hands. Critius was also celebrated as the founder of a school which lasted through many generations, and included sculptors of various nationalities, including even a Sicyonian. Thus we see the influence of the Attic athletic school returning to the region whence it so largely was derived.

§ 25. *Argos and Sicyon: Athletic Art.*—There are many indications that the schools of Argos and Sicyon were among the most prominent and influential in early Greece. But we are at a great disadvantage when we attempt to reach any clear notion of their style and attainments, for we do not possess either in the original or in an adequate copy any statue which we can regard as characteristic¹ of their art, or can assign even with reasonable probability to one of their masters. The reason for this is partly to be found in the material of their statues, which was usually bronze, partly in geographical and political conditions, which never brought to Argos or Sicyon, or to Olympia, where so many Argive and Sicyonian works were dedicated, a destruction like that which has led to the preservation of many archaic works on the Acropolis at Athens. Probably, too, the monotony, which was noticed by ancient critics even in the athletic statues of Polyclitus himself, was also to be seen in the works of his predecessors of the same school; there would, if so, be the less inducement for a later imitator to copy any specimen of the type before it had attained to technical perfection; subject and composition would offer but little variety. And the same monotony would render it difficult for us to identify any particular work of these schools, even if we possessed in our museums an original or a copy which could safely be attributed to them. Under these

¹ The "Apollo of Piombino" in the Louvre is by some regarded as such, but its Sicyonian or Argive attribution cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge.

circumstances all that we can do is to give a summary of the literary evidence, and to notice what traces of Argive or Sicyonian influence we can recognise in other schools which undoubtedly owed much to the sculpture which now seems to be irretrievably lost.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence exercised upon the growth of Greek sculpture by the great athletic festivals. In the constant gymnastic training of which they were the culmination the artist found the best opportunity for study. In every Greek town there was a place where its youths and men were in the habit of practising their gymnastic exercises—running, leaping, wrestling, boxing, throwing the javelin and the quoit—and here it was possible to see constantly the nude human body in every variety of action and repose, without the necessity of posing a model. And the extraordinary, almost superhuman honours paid to the victors at the great national contests made them a theme for the sculptor hardly less noble than gods and heroes, and more adapted for the display of his skill, as trained by the observation of those exercises which led to the victory. We are told by Pliny that, while it was customary to dedicate at Olympia a statue to every victor, such statues were not portraits, except in the case of those who had won three times. This is in itself an admirable illustration of the usual nature of dedicated statues in Greece, which were in early times merely variations of a few types recognised as appropriate to the purpose. It is the refinement and perfection of these types, and their gradual approach to truth to nature in detail, which practically form the whole history of the athletic schools of the Peloponnese.

The earliest athlete statues set up at Olympia, according to Pausanias, were those of Rhexibius the Opuntian and Praxidamas of Aegina, who won in 544 B.C. and 536 B.C. respectively; both were of wood, but we have no information as to the sculptors by whom they were made. Statues of earlier Olympian victors are also recorded; thus Arrhachion, who won twice before 564 B.C., had a very archaic statue in his honour set up at Phigalia. Even at Olympia were statues of Eutelidas of Sparta, who won the boys' pentathlon in 628 B.C., and of Chionis of Sparta, who won between 664 and 656 B.C.; but in the last two cases the

statue was 'certainly set up later to record a remarkable or unique performance.¹

The earliest sculptors who are recorded as making statues of victorious athletes are Eutelidas and Chrysothemis of Argos; but it is to be noted that they expressly describe themselves as τέχνην εἰδότες ἐκ προτέρων, as if the reputation of the Argive school in this kind of sculpture were already established; and at Delphi the French excavators have discovered a nude male statue, of the well-known archaic type, which bears the signature of an Argive sculptor; perhaps one of those predecessors acknowledged by Eutelidas and Chrysothemis. The victors for whom they worked won in 520 B.C. and succeeding Olympiads. The next artist's name is one which has given rise to much discussion, from the extraordinary length of his career. Ageladas—or, as he spelt his own name,² Agelaïdas—of Argos made the statue of a victor who won at Olympia in 520 B.C.; nor is this an isolated example of an athlete who may have been honoured with a statue long after his victory, for it is the first of a continuous series. On the other hand, he made also a statue of Zeus Ithomatas for the exiled Messenians, who were established by the Athenians in Naupactus in 455 B.C. Nothing is more probable than that these Messenians should set up in their new home a statue of the god as whose suppliants they had been spared by the Spartans, and in the temporary alliance of Argos and Athens the veteran Argive sculptor might naturally receive the commission.³ Nor is there anything incredible in the interval between the earlier and later dates. If Ageladas was eighty-five years old when he made the statue of Zeus, Sophocles was eighty-six when he brought out the Philoctetes, and after that he set to work on the Oedipus

¹ S. Q. 373, 549. The statue of Chionis was by Myron; it is only quoted here to show that a statue may be set up long after the victory it records, but those of Arrhachion, Rhexibius, and Praxidamas were probably contemporary with their victories.

² This is shown by an inscription on a statue made by his son (Loewy, no. 30); perhaps the name was Hagelaïdas, but more probably Ἀγελαῖδα stands for ὁ Ἀγελαῖδα.

³ Robert, *Arch. München*, doubts this date, but the historical probabilities seem to favour it. The Messenians had no political existence before their revolt in 465 B.C., and between then and their establishment at Naupactus in 455 B.C. they would have no opportunity of giving a commission for a statue. The tradition must have recorded their bringing the statue back with them from Naupactus under Epaminondas; they would not have forgotten it in the few years of their wandering which preceded their restoration.

Coloneus.¹ Another statue attributed to Ageladas is that of Heracles 'Αλεξίκακος, the "Preserver from Evil," which was set up in Athens to stay the great plague in 430 B.C. But the statue may well have been an old one which was brought from elsewhere and set up on this occasion, or else it may, from its title, have been wrongly associated in later days with the famous plague; there is not in this case the same historical confirmation as in that of the statue from Naupactus, and so this Heracles may be omitted from the chronological evidence. Zeus and Heracles, both in youthful type, again offered a subject for sculpture in bronze to Ageladas in a commission he executed for Aegium. He also made, besides athlete statues, a group of horses and captive women dedicated by the Tarentines to celebrate a victory over the Messapians; and an epigram, perhaps of doubtful authority, describes a Muse which he made to match two others by Aristocles and Canachus.

All this tells us but little about Ageladas, except that he occasionally deviated from the athletic type which was the chief product of his school. His chief interest for us must lie in the tradition that he was the master of three illustrious pupils, Phidias, Myron, and Polyclitus. This tradition has of late been somewhat discredited,² but I think without sufficient reason. The three pupils could not, of course, have been contemporary, since Polyclitus belonged to a younger generation than the other two. But if we are right in our chronology of Ageladas, the two Attic artists may have been the pupils of his maturity, and Polyclitus, who was to succeed him at the head of the Argive school, may have worked under him in his extreme old age. The connection in this last case has everything but the difficulty of the dates in favour of its probability; in any case the succession of Polyclitus, whether immediate or not, gives colour to the story. With the two Attic artists the circumstances are different. Great as is the contrast between the subjects and style of Myron and the Attic sculpture of the later part of the sixth century, we can see anticipations of his attainments in the works of Critius and Nesiotes, and of the Aeginetan sculptors whom we know to have worked at Athens in his youth,

¹ A sculptor of the standing of Ageladas would of course be surrounded by pupils. The attribution of the statue to him need imply no more than that it was made in his studio and under his supervision.

² Especially by Robert, *Arch. Märchen*.

even more than in the Argive school. But, on the other hand, there is a mastery and a moderation in his treatment of anatomy which perhaps implies study under a master whose energies had been more entirely devoted to this branch of sculpture, though Myron's motives are all his own. The relation of Phidias to Ageladas is the best established by literary evidence. And we have already seen, in tracing the history of the Attic school at the beginning of the fifth century, how strong is the Peloponnesian influence which affects it at this period. In the reaction of Attic art towards Argive strength and severity, it was likely enough that a young Attic sculptor, thoroughly in sympathy with the tendency of his age, should go directly to the source of this Argive influence for his instruction. The monuments alone suffice to prove that Phidias and the school of artists by whom he was surrounded combined the dignity and accuracy of the Argive style with the grace and delicacy that they inherited from the earlier Attic sculptors.

The two Sicyonian sculptors whom we have already seen associated with Ageladas in making a set of three Muses, the brothers Canachus and Aristocles, seem to have enjoyed great fame and influence. The best known work of Canachus was the bronze Apollo of Branchidae near Miletus, who carried in his hand a stag.¹ This statue is reproduced on Milesian coins of Roman period,² and by their help a bronze statuette in the British Museum³ has been shown to reproduce exactly the type of the Apollo of Canachus. This statuette is not, however, large enough in size or accurate enough in execution to give us any very good notion of the style of Canachus; it may, indeed, be no more than a reproduction of the conventional mythological type of the Apollo of Branchidae which Canachus also followed in his statue. When Darius sacked Miletus in 494 B.C., he also carried off the Apollo from Branchidae;⁴ it was restored to the Milesians by Seleucus. The statue of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes, which was made of cedar-wood, was so similar that Pausanias says nobody who had seen the statue at Branchidae could doubt that the one at Thebes was also

¹ Pliny has some remarks which are difficult to understand about the way this stag was balanced. Probably the peculiarity he describes was due to accident rather than to the artist's intention.

² There is another very fine copy on a gem in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

³ Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik* (1893), Fig. 24.

⁴ Pausanias says Xerxes, but this is clearly a mistake; cf. Herodotus, vi. 19.

by Canachus. It is not clear in this passage whether he is giving the confirmation of his criticism to an accepted tradition, or merely expressing an artistic theory of his own, to which perhaps we should attach less weight. The way in which he mentions the two statues elsewhere seems to imply that they were both generally recognised as works of Canachus. He also made an Aphrodite of gold and ivory at Sicyon, wearing a *πόλος* on her head, and holding in one hand a poppy, in the other an apple. Pliny says he worked in marble too. The variety of the materials used by Canachus, as well as of the subjects which he represented, is very remarkable, especially when contrasted with the somewhat monotonous series of bronze athletic statues which are usually considered the most characteristic of his school. But Canachus, like his greater successor Polyclitus, evidently rose above his surroundings, and devoted his highest powers to statues of the gods, though it is probable that he also studied athletic sculpture. We have only three¹ works of his recorded, and one of these is merely a replica of another; in the case of an artist of so high reputation, this evidence is very inadequate, and unfortunately there are no means of supplementing it from other sources. As to his style, we have only the vague and unsatisfactory criticism of Cicero, who says his statues were too stiff to be natural, and less advanced than those of Calamis. There is really no artist of equal eminence of whose individual characteristics we know so little. His brother Aristocles is practically only recorded as the founder of a definite artistic school which was recorded through seven generations. His pupils devoted themselves almost exclusively to the making of athletic statues, and so we may safely assume that this was the branch of sculpture in which he also excelled.

It is probable that the influence of the allied schools of Argos and Sicyon might have been traced in many other works of this period. Thus the artist Laphaes of Phlius made a statue of Heracles at Sicyon, where he would doubtless have fallen under the influence of the local school, as well as a colossal Apollo at Aegira, if we may trust the judgment of Pausanias, who expressly says that his only evidence for the attribution was its resemblance to the Heracles at Sicyon. Ascarus of Thebes, too, who made a colossal statue of Zeus at Olympia, is said to

¹ Or four, if we include the Muse mentioned above.

have worked under some Sicyonian master, though a gap in the text of Pausanias prevents our learning more.

If any extant works could be attributed with certainty to the Argive and Sicyonian schools, it would be possible to fill in this meagre outline with some account of their style and characteristics; but in such a case as this conjecture is worse

FIG. 39.—Bronze statuette from Ligourio, near Epidauros (Berlin). After 60th Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste, Berlin.

than useless, and we must be content for the present to recognise their influence, and to trace it, where possible, in the remains of contemporary or later sculpture which we know to have had some artistic dependence upon Argos or Sicyon. We may, however, obtain some notion of the appearance of their statues from a statuette found at Ligourio, near Epidauros,

which, although on too small a scale to count as a characteristic example of their work, is so finely finished as to afford very valuable evidence. In the face we see the strongly marked eyelids, straight mouth, and heavy rounded jaw that mark Peloponnesian style; but the most remarkable thing is the modelling of the body, which, in its accuracy and moderation, could hardly be surpassed. A work like this implies a mastery both of subject and material such as we could only expect from the athletic schools of Argos and Sicyon; and if we find such excellence in a statuette, we may well imagine the perfection, in this respect, to which their statues had attained.¹ The figure has a remarkable resemblance to certain imitative works made in the first century B.C. by Pasiteles and his scholars;² and thus it offers confirmation to the theory that we must recognise in these works copies after the Argive masters of the early part of the fifth century. It seems safer, however, to reserve them for the period during which they were unquestionably made, than to attempt to assign them to the time from which they may draw their inspiration.

§ 26. *Aegina*.—Whether we consult the literary tradition or examine the extant remains of early sculpture, the school of Aegina stands out with remarkable distinctness. It was, indeed, so prominent that the name Aeginetan was sometimes applied by later critics to a whole class of archaic works, many of which had very little to do with Aegina. But fortunately the definite information which is given us about Aeginetan masters and their works is sufficient to prevent the confusion which might otherwise have arisen from such an usage.

The only name of an Aeginetan sculptor preserved by tradition from the earliest period is Smilis, who is said to have made the statue of Hera at Samos, and to have worked in Elis. He is also associated with Rhoecus and Theodorus in the construction of the Lemnian labyrinth. Thus all indications seem to assign him to the Samian school, and it has been conjectured with probability that he has only been called an Aeginetan from a misunderstanding of the vague use of the word above mentioned.

When we come to the historical Aeginetan school, we find its constitution and relations so clearly marked out as almost to arouse our suspicion. Artistic history was not usually written

¹ See Furtwängler, *50th Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin. ² See § 79.

down at so early a period, and a later compiler may have had some theory of his own which had to be supported by facts; but in any case, we must be thankful for the information he gives us, and we can fortunately test it by comparison with extant works. Callon, the first of the Aeginetan sculptors, was the pupil of Tectaeus and Angelion,¹ who made the statue of Apollo at Delos, and themselves belonged to the Peloponnesian school of the Cretans, Dipoenus and Scyllis. His style is quoted by critics as typical of archaic severity, just before the time of transition; in this respect he is compared to Hegias of Athens, and Canachus of Sicyon. His Peloponnesian connections are confirmed by the fact that he made a tripod at Amyclae, with a statue of Cora beneath it, to match two by Gitiadas of Sparta. Probably the two artists worked together; they may well have been contemporaries, since, as we have seen, Gitiadas appears to have worked towards the end of the sixth century—the period to which we must also assign Callon of Aegina. The only other statue of his recorded is one of Athena Sthenias at Troezen.

As to Onatas, who seems to have been the most famous of all the Aeginetan sculptors, we have more information. Among those who employed his talents were the Achaeans, the Pheneans, and the Phigalians in the Peloponnese, the Tarentines and the princes of Syracuse in Magna Graecia, and the Thasians; a statue by him was shown at Pergamus too. One of his most interesting commissions was to make a statue of the Black Demeter for the Phigalians, who had lost their ancient image of the goddess, and had consequently suffered from a dearth. This image represented a monster of the most grotesque type, with a human body and the head and mane of a horse; and Onatas is said to have reproduced it in bronze with a fidelity so miraculous that he was supposed to have been assisted by a vision in dreams.² Such a work can hardly have offered much scope for the sculptor's skill, least of all for that athletic treatment of the nude in which he and his school excelled. He made for Hiero of Syracuse a chariot and charioteer to commemorate his victory at Olympia in 468 B.C.; this was not dedicated

¹ See above, p. 153.

² Such is the only possible interpretation of the words of Pausanias; they give no support to Brunn's suggestion that Onatas pleaded a dream as his justification for adopting a more artistic type.

until after Hiero's death in 467 B.C.; it was accompanied by two horses with riders by Calamis. Among Onatas' other works are a colossal Apollo of bronze at Pergamus, a colossal Heracles, 15 feet high, dedicated by the Thasians at Olympia, and a Hermes at Olympia, dressed in helmet, chiton, and chlamys, and carrying a ram under his arm, a dedication of the people of Pheneus; this again seems to have been a pretty close reproduction of a primitive image. But the works that interest us most of all, from their resemblance to extant Aeginetan sculptures, are the great groups by Onatas. One of these, dedicated at Olympia by the Achaeans, represented nine of the Greek heroes before Troy, who stood on a curved basis, while Nestor stood before them, on a separate basis, holding in a helmet the lots which should decide the champion to accept Hector's challenge. This was hardly a group in the strict sense of the word, but rather a collection of statues, placed side by side with a motive to explain their juxtaposition; but in the group dedicated by the Tarentines at Delphi there must have been a closer dramatic relation. It represented the death in battle of the Iapygian king Opis, and, in all probability, the fight over his body, above which stood the heroes Taras and Phalanthus; there were figures of horsemen too, as well as combatants on foot. In this work Onatas is said to have been assisted by Calythus—probably a mere MS. error for Calliteles,¹ his son or pupil, who assisted him also in making the Hermes mentioned above for the Pheneans.

Glaucias made a chariot for Gelon of Gela, afterwards tyrant of Syracuse, who won at Olympia in 488 B.C., and whose brother Hiero later employed Onatas on a similar commission. Glaucias seems to have excelled most in statues of boxers or pancratiasts. The victors, Philo, Theagenes, who won in 480 and 476 at Olympia, and Glaucus, were all commemorated by his hand; and the last was represented as *σκιαμαχῶν*, or "beating the air," a boxer's exercise. Anaxagoras made a colossal Zeus, 15 feet high, dedicated at Olympia by the Greeks who had fought at Plataea. To these we may add Ptolichus, a pupil of Aristocles of Sicyon, who made athlete statues, and Aristonous, who made for the Metapontines a statue of Zeus crowned with lilies at Olympia.

¹ The error may be due to the similar termination of Phalanthus a line or two below.

To the literary evidence of the activity of the Aeginetan school we may add that of inscriptions, which proves that both Callon and Onatas were among the sculptors who worked at Athens before the Persian invasion of 480 B.C.

The school of Aegina appears in the history of sculpture already fully developed; we know nothing certain of its earlier growth, though we may infer with some confidence the influences under which it arose; and after a brief period of activity, which comprises the first thirty years of the fifth century, it disappears as suddenly as it arose, apparently some time before the political extinction of Aegina in 455 B.C.¹ Both the artistic traditions of the school and the athletic subjects for which it shows so strong a predilection associate it with the Peloponnese; and the great majority of their commissions came to the Aeginetan artists either from the Peloponnese or from the southern part of Magna Graecia, which, as we have already seen, had a distinctly Peloponnesian bias in matters of art. But the position of Aegina was such that it could hardly fail to be affected to some extent by the influences which prevailed in the Aegean, and with Athens, in particular, it is clear that there was artistic intercourse. We accordingly find traces of boldness and originality in the Aeginetan works recorded in literature, beyond what is recorded of the purely Peloponnesian sculpture of the same period; not only are there colossal bronze statues, implying a high degree of technical skill, such as the Apollo which even at so great a centre of later sculpture as Pergamus was admired for its artistic excellence as well as for its size, but some of the athletic statues are represented in a position that exhibits their skill in the contest and gives the artist an opportunity of rendering the figure in the acme of muscular tension. Thus we find in them an anticipation of the attainments of Myron and Pythagoras, rather than a mere elaboration of the correct but somewhat monotonous athlete type which was the special product of Peloponnesian sculpture. It is to be noted that we have not a single female figure recorded among the products of Aeginetan sculpture; for the Black Demeter can hardly pass for such, even "in the catalogue." The material used by the Aeginetan masters seems to have been almost exclusively that composition of bronze for which the island was famous.

¹ The latest recorded work by an Aeginetan sculptor was dedicated about 467 B.C. All other dated works fall in the period of the Persian wars.

So much we may fairly infer from the literary evidence. Fortunately we are able to test and to supplement our inferences by the study of a set of sculptures which are indisputably the product of Aeginetan art, and date from the time of its highest perfection. These are the pedimental groups and acroteria of the temple of Athena on the island of Aegina, which are now in the museum at Munich. The western pediment, which is the better preserved, represents, in all probability, the fight over the body of Patroclus, who lies at the feet of Athena beneath the apex of the pediment, while the Greek and Trojan heroes advance from either side. The statues have been restored by Thorwaldsen, and are now mounted according to his design, which has only to be modified by some small

FIG. 40.—West pediment from temple at Aegina (Munich). After Cockerell's *Aegina and Bassae*, drawing between Pl. xv. and xvi.¹

additions discovered since his time; especially the existence of a second stooping figure, balancing the one which he restored grasping at the fallen warrior; and the fallen warrior himself must be placed nearer the centre, so that both sides of the pediment correspond exactly. On either side an unarmed figure stoops to snatch the fallen warrior, protected by an advancing spearman, probably Hector for Troy, and Menelaus or Ajax on the Grecian side. Behind these come two kneeling spearmen, and beyond each a bowman, Paris on the Trojan side and Teucer on the Greek, while the group is completed at each end by a wounded warrior, who lies in the corner of the pediment. The group upon the eastern pediment was almost identical in composition, but its subject evidently belongs to the expedition

¹ The figures in this cut are in Thorwaldsen's order, with the bowmen in front of the kneeling spearmen.

made against Troy a generation earlier than the great siege, as is shown by the presence of Heracles as one of the kneeling archers. Much less of this group is preserved; the most remarkable figure from it is the warrior who lies mortally wounded in one corner of the pediment.

The composition of these two groups is adapted with great ingenuity to the triangular field of the pediment, but not without the use of some conventions to facilitate the adaptation. The way in which either the warriors themselves or their efforts are directed towards the middle of the composition from either side is an immense gain in concentration and unity of design, as we can see most clearly when we compare the Aegina pediments with the Megarian gigantomachy at Olympia, which is broken up into separate groups. We may recognise here the principle recognised also by the sculptors of the early Attic pediments, where the combatant monsters always attack from either side, and fill the angle with their coils; and the Aeginetan artists may well have been affected by Attic influence in this matter. But in so complicated a combat scene as those represented at Aegina the effect of a continuous advance from either side towards the centre involves a serious difficulty, since it is only possible for the foremost spearman and the archers to occupy a place where they can really take an active part in the fight; yet the others are represented as actually striking with their spears. Yet in spite of this defect we must acknowledge that the Aeginetan sculptures are a great advance upon all previous attempts at pedimental composition. When we proceed to notice their style in detail, their excellence is yet more remarkable, though by no means uniform in all respects. As we might expect from the athletic traditions of the Aeginetan school, it is in the modelling of the nude male form that the sculptor chiefly excels. The proportions of the figures are slight and active, and, like those of men in the finest training, without a particle of superfluous fat. The muscles and sinews are clearly rendered, and with a master's hand; there is little or nothing of that exaggeration which we see in some of the Attic athletic works, made perhaps under Aeginetan influence. The figures are squarely built, with great breadth of shoulder and slenderness of waist; they are well-knit, and full of life and vigour. So far as the body is concerned, the sculptor knew exactly what he meant, and rendered it with concise modelling and a firm

hand. But in the strong, almost violent action of many of the figures, and in the angular contrasts of their body and limbs, we may see something of the exaggerated reaction against archaic stiffness which we shall meet again in an artist like Myron. They remind us too of the statues in athletic action which we know to have been made by Aeginetan sculptors. So far the criticism applies generally; but there are many in-

FIG. 41.—Figure reaching to grasp fallen warrior, from E. pediment at Aegina (Munich).

equalities in the work. In the first place, the style of the eastern pediment is more advanced than that of the western; the modelling is finer and more detailed, and, in particular, the veins are indicated, an innovation attributed by Pliny to Pythagoras of Rhegium. Here we learn that it was also practised by the Aeginetans; we meet with it too in a statue from Boeotia of about the same period. We may notice the difference of the two pediments again in the treatment of the wounded warriors.

Those on the western pediment have their limbs and muscles drawn up so as to ease the pain of their wounds, and in the contortion thus produced there is some expression of pain; but their faces show, hardly if at all modified, the conventional smile of archaic art. With the fallen warrior of the eastern pediment it is otherwise; he is half turned, supported on his arms, so that his face is bent over towards the ground, and the archaic smile in his case is not given up, but undergoes a remarkable transformation. In the clenched teeth and drawn lips there is an intense expression of anguish; yet the expression is rendered with more artistic reserve than in the wounded giant from Selinus, in whom we noticed a similar attempt. It is most interesting to compare or to contrast this dying warrior of Aegina with the dying Gaul of Pergamene art, and to notice how the same motive is treated by Greek sculpture in its rise and in its decline; and in spite of the wonderful dramatic power of the later figure, there is an artistic moderation and rhythm about the Aeginetan warrior which makes it not unworthy of the comparison, even in the pathos of its effect. The Pergamene sculptor uses every resource of a free and eclectic art to impress the spectator; the Aeginetan master endeavours to render what he has observed without undue departure even from the narrow conventions in which he has been brought up. The faces of the fighting warriors and the other figures of the Aegina pediments show a more ordinary treatment; the modelling is firm and clear, if somewhat hard; we see, as in the Attic heads, a modification of the conventional archaic type. The line of the eyelids is strongly marked, an advance which the Attic artists do not reach without foreign influence, and instead of the complicated curves of the Attic mouth we see a different modification of the archaic smile; there is usually a deep indentation in the middle of the lips, and from this they run up almost in a straight line towards either end. The hair usually descends in wavy lines towards the forehead, over which it ends in a projecting mass, faced with spiral curls. But the heads, as a rule, give the impression of an artistic skill inferior to that which modelled the bodies—a clear indication of the tendencies of Aeginetan art; and the figure of Athena on both pediments is far inferior to the rest, in the stiffness of its pose and the conventionality of its drapery—so much so that some have even suggested that a statue of

FIG. 42.--Dying warrior, from corner of E. pediment at Aegina (Munich).

Athena is meant rather than the goddess herself. But we need not look for such an explanation if we remember that female figures were almost entirely avoided by Aeginetan artists, and that their study of rich drapery and the forms below it may well have been far behind that of other contemporary schools, and so seem inconsistent with their own excellent modelling of the nude.

The Aegina pediments were most likely erected after the battle of Salamis, in which the Aeginetans won the prize of valour; if so, they belong to the cycle of combat scenes allusive to the victory over the Persians which are so common in the fifth century.¹ In any case, they cannot be far removed from this date, when all the Aeginetan artists recorded by literature were at the height of their activity, and the question naturally arises whether we are justified in assigning the extant sculptures to any of these. There is certainly a remarkable similarity in subject between the pediments and the groups made by Onatas at Delphi, representing the fall of Opis in battle; and his other great group at Olympia represented a Trojan subject, so that there seems good reason for attributing to him the design of the pediments also. But, on the other hand, we must remember the remarkable similarity of the various works attributed to artists of the Aeginetan school, which hardly justifies us in assigning to any particular one of its masters what may have been made by any of them. Yet this same similarity justifies us in making inferences with considerable confidence from the extant sculptures as to the style of Onatas, for they were certainly designed, if not by himself, by another artist of remarkably similar attainments and preferences. The difference in the style of execution between the two pediments calls for some explanation. Their composition is so similar that the design can hardly be attributed to different hands in the two cases; and it has been suggested accordingly that the west pediment may have been made first by the original designer, and that the eastern was then completed by a sculptor more advanced in skill. Perhaps it is more probable that the sculptor who designed both made the eastern pediment, over the principal entrance of the temple, with his own hands, and left the western to his pupils or assistants.

We must turn next to some extant works which, though

¹ See § 29.

not found on Aegina, may be classed on internal evidence with Aeginetan. The so-called Strangford Apollo,¹ now in the British Museum, shows all the characteristics which we have noticed in the figures from the Aegina pediments, only slightly modified; it is probably much like some of the athlete statues which we know the Aeginetan sculptors to have made in such numbers, though we may doubt whether it is a copy of a bronze original or a minor work in marble made under Aeginetan influence. We have certainly an example of the latter class in a statue dedicated to Apollo Ptoos at his shrine in Boeotia, which shows in an exaggerated form all the characteristics of Aeginetan style.² But the most interesting of all is a life-size head of a warrior from Athens,³ which is the finest extant specimen of early bronze statuary. If we are justified in regarding this head as a work of Aeginetan art, then it is the most important which we possess, for it shows a care of finish and a strength as well as delicacy of style which stamp it as the work of a master; and it is in bronze, the material used by the Aeginetan sculptors, while all other certain remains of their art are in marble, and so can give us but an imperfect notion of their style and technique. On the Acropolis at Athens, where this head was discovered, there were found bases of statues both by Callon and Onatas, so that the external evidence is at least not against our assignment, for it is very difficult to place this head in any classification of Attic works; the contrast with a bearded head like that of Aristocles is evident; nor is there much resemblance either to the Tyrannicides or to the works under Peloponnesian influence which come in about this period. And if the head is not Attic, there is good evidence both external and internal for an attribution to Aegina. At the same time, so long as our knowledge of the sculpture of this period is not exhaustive, we can never be quite certain that it may not belong to some other school which has a strong affinity to the Aeginetan. In any case, it is an admirable specimen of the bronze work of the period; the hair over the forehead is most delicately

¹ *B. D.* 51.

² See above, p. 151.

³ In 1887, *J. H. S.* p. 191, I expressed the opinion that this was an Aeginetan work. I am glad to find that M. Collignon has expressed the same view, and placed this head among the certainly Aeginetan works in his *Histoire de Sculpture*. As he seems to have come to this conclusion independently, its probability is greatly confirmed.

rendered, in a fringe of minute tresses, and the working of the hair and beard is beautifully finished, every hair over the whole surface being indicated by fine wavy lines, which, however, only diversify the surface, without in any way modifying the sharply cut outlines of the different masses. The strongly projecting line of the eyebrows, and the indented projection of the eyelids, which seems to give the effect of eyelashes, are

FIG. 43.—Bronze head, perhaps Aeginetan (Athens, Acropolis Museum).

also most clearly shown. The study of all these details on a first-rate bronze original is most instructive. The finish and delicacy of work are as remarkable as in the finest Attic marble sculpture of the same period, but entirely different in their nature, owing to the material, which would not show a delicate play of light and shade on its surface, but is susceptible to infinite pains in the elaboration of details.

It is the combination of this accuracy and conciseness of

detail with a vigour and fulness of life in the attitude and expression that forms the chief characteristic of the Aeginetan masters; and although the school of Aegina became extinct after a brief but brilliant period of activity, its influence may be traced in some of the most remarkable productions of fifth-century sculpture.

§ 27. *Other Early Works.*—In a book which is concerned mainly with the history of sculpture, as derived from the literature and the monuments, rather than with a complete and systematic study of the extant remains of ancient art, it is often difficult to find an appropriate place for many statues which are in themselves of great excellence or interest. Some of these may be omitted altogether with the less hesitation, because they will easily be appreciated by the student whose eye has become trained by the observation of other similar works, which offer more data for the determination of their exact period or school. No attempt is made here to enumerate or to describe all, even of the finest statues preserved; but there are some which are so instructive, either from a technical or a historical point of view, that it seems advisable at least to mention them here, although it is impossible to make any definite assertion as to the exact period or school to which they must be assigned.

Most conspicuous amongst these are some bronze statues or heads, which it may ultimately become possible to classify more definitely, as new discoveries supply fresh data for comparison, or a scientific study of what we already possess leads to more precise results. But in the present state of our knowledge it seems wiser for a handbook like this not to venture upon theories of which the correctness cannot be regarded as established. In the Louvre is a bronze statue of a boy, known from the place where it was found as the Apollo of Piombino.¹ A study of the original, or even of a cast, cannot fail to be instructive to the student; for, in spite of some doubts that have been expressed, it seems pretty certain that we have in this statue a bronze original of archaic period. But our knowledge of the early schools does not suffice to enable us to assign it to its origin, and therefore it cannot be discussed with much profit here. Another archaic bronze, of the same type but very different style, is now in the Palazzo Sciarra at Rome, and is therefore known as the Apollo Sciarra;² it is about half life-size. Perhaps the best known and

¹ *B. D.* 78.

² *Mith. Rom.* 1887, Taf. iv. v.

most interesting of all is the bronze head of a youth in Naples, which is in all probability a true specimen of fine archaic work.¹ Here the spiral curls over the forehead, which are made separately just like so many cork-screws, and then fixed on, are a most instructive example of early bronze work, and show us the original technique from which the conventions which we see in many early marble works are derived.

Another very curious example of archaic work, this time in marble, is a portrait head of a man of advanced age, now in Madrid.² It is unique in its character at such a period, whether we regard it as an original or as a copy. Its inscription, the name of the philosopher Pherecydes, is of doubtful authority; but it cannot be doubted that the head is really intended as a portrait of some individual; it has little of the general, almost typical rather than individual character so common in Greek art of all periods. Here again we are at a loss in assigning the style to any particular school.

It would be easy to add indefinitely to this enumeration; but these examples have mostly been quoted to show how much material, as yet hardly available for a systematic and historical study, still awaits a certain identification. It is to be expected that order will ultimately be introduced into this chaos; but for the present it seems wiser for us to content ourselves with what, on internal or external evidence, admits of a definite and cautious classification.

§ 28. *Summary.*—In the first chapter we saw the material, whether of native or foreign origin, which was available for Greek art at the outset of its career. This second chapter has been concerned with the assimilation of that material, the development of sculpture into an independent existence, and the formation of various artistic schools in Greece. Technical skill in the working of various materials was already to be found, if not in Greece itself, among the highly civilised nations of the East; and the imitation of imported products probably gave the first impulse to artistic progress. But those who first practised the various processes of sculpture in Greece, whether they learnt their craft from foreign masters or taught themselves by the observation of foreign models, had at home all the prestige of inventors, and are handed down as such by Greek tradition. We have seen that the stories of inventions are not to be accepted

¹ *Mon. Inst.* ix. 18.

² Overbeck, *Gesch. d. gr. Plastik* (4th ed.), Fig. 64.

as literally true in most cases; but they teach us a good deal as to the theories of later times about the origin of Greek sculpture; and these theories must often have been based upon evidence which is now lost. And as it was with the technical processes of sculpture in the earliest days of Greek art, so it was also with the types represented by their means. We saw in the previous chapter that many of the types of decorative art, the groups so common in early reliefs, were, if not of native origin, at least preserved by artistic tradition on Greek soil from a more remote antiquity. But the simple types of early sculpture in the round, mostly single figures with but little variety of pose, seem rather to have been adopted in imitation of foreign models than to have been either invented or developed from any native origin. The history of the rise of Greek sculpture is mainly concerned with the modification and improvement of these types, as they were more especially taken up and studied by different local schools. The process is a slow and gradual one, and affects details, such as the modelling of knees, hands, or feet, or the more delicate finish of conventional folds of drapery, before it ventures to alter the general proportions or composition; even until the very end of the archaic period the traditional types are never completely done away with, though they become so flexible as to be easily adapted to the particular purpose; they do not obtrude themselves on the observer, but they can always be discovered by the student who has followed their development.

We have seen how special types were most characteristic of special schools—how the sculptors of Argos and Sicyon, for example, devoted themselves especially to the representation of athletes, and consequently carried the study of the modelling and proportions of the body and its muscles to a high pitch of perfection, while the Attic artists were more occupied with the graceful arrangement and rendering of drapery, and with giving expression to the face. We have also seen more general distinctions of style, which are, doubtless, to some extent dependent on this choice of subjects; they are at least the result of similar tendencies and conditions. Thus the early Greek sculptors of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, whose influence spreads across the north of the Aegean to Thessaly and Attica, seem to care more about the composition and general effect than about accuracy in detail; even their modelling appears often more intended to reproduce the appearance than

the actual form; while the Dorian artists of the Peloponnese prefer to make an exact and detailed copy of nature as it is, especially in the proportions and muscles of the human body. Of course these distinctions cannot be too strictly applied in every case, and we may often notice exceptions on either side. But, in the main, they seem in accordance both with the evidence of the monuments, and the historical character of the people to whom they apply.

The rich and too luxurious Ionians, who seem to have taken a prominent part in the earliest period of Greek sculpture, were reduced to great straits in the succeeding years by the encroachments of the Persian Empire; but what was best in their work survived and reached its highest development in Attica, where it attained the greatest refinement and delicacy. At the same time the severer and more accurate art of the Peloponnese steadily grew and spread its influence; until, at the beginning of the fifth century, it assisted the reaction of Attic sculpture towards a simpler and stronger style, without entirely escaping some countervailing influence of Attic grace upon its harder and less flexible character.

The Persian invasion, which closes this period, has also preserved for us its products. The clearest and most conspicuous instance of this preservation occurs at Athens. When Xerxes sacked the town and Acropolis of Athens, it is evident that he not only destroyed all walls and temples, but also broke and threw down all the statues which surrounded them. Some he carried off to Persia, like the famous group of the Tyrannicides; but when the Athenians returned to the ruins of their city, they must have found the bulk of the sculpture and other dedications which had once decorated their Acropolis lying in fragments upon the ground. A people in the full vigour of artistic production was not likely to give much trouble to the collection or restoration of such relics. A few, of peculiar sanctity or of interesting associations, may have been set up again; but the majority were simply put out of the way. Fortunately for us, no mortar was required for the buildings which were being erected to take the place of those that had been destroyed; and so all these fragments of marble sculpture and architecture escaped the lime-kiln, and were buried to help in filling up the terraced area of the Acropolis. They were thus preserved with but little damage, beyond what they had suffered from the

violence of the Persians, and many of them with their surface and colouring almost intact, until their fortunate discovery within recent years. Between the years 1885 and 1889 the whole of the earth within the Acropolis has been turned over, down to the living rock ; and the result of this excavation is a wealth of the remains of sculpture in limestone and marble, of terra-cottas, of architecture, and of vases, which is in itself unique in its richness and variety, while its value is greatly enhanced by the exactness with which we can tell the date at which all these objects were buried. It is this discovery, more than any other, that has made Athens the centre of the study of early Greek art, and that has made the Attic School of sculpture the most prominent in a history where it was before represented only by a few isolated examples.

CHAPTER III

THE FIFTH CENTURY—480-400 B.C.

§ 29. *The Persian Wars and their Results.*—In the last chapter we have often had to refer to the Persian wars as forming the most prominent landmark in the history of early Greek art, and as affording the most suitable limit to the period which we assign to the rise of Greek sculpture from the rudest models towards technical perfection. So far, however, we have been concerned rather with their material results, and with the way in which they have, by what must have seemed at the time mere waste and destruction, preserved for us a most valuable record of the attainments of Greek art early in the fifth century. We must now look at them in their relation to the future, not to the past, and see in them the beginning of a new epoch in Greek art, as well as in history and literature. Here, too, the material side of their influence is by no means insignificant. In many Greek towns the ruin made by the Persian invader was complete, and the inhabitants on their return found all their temples destroyed and the sculpture, vases, and other dedications thrown down and broken. This was the case most notably in Athens; and the result was an impulse to new activity, in which statesman, architect, painter, sculptor joined to replace by more splendid monuments those of which the scattered and buried fragments have taught us so much about the art of the preceding period. In many cases, too, the spoil of the conquered invaders actually supplied the means by which architectural and sculptural monuments were erected to commemorate the victory of the Greeks.

The true import of this victory seems to have been realised even at the time by the Greeks, and the change which it

brought about in the relations between Europe and Asia finds its reflection in art as well as in literature. In early times the great nations of the East were but vaguely known to the Greeks; but their power, skill, and wisdom made for that very reason the greater impression on the imagination of a people whose civilisation was in a more primitive stage, though capable of a higher development. With the rise of the Persians these Oriental powers took at once a more definite and a more threatening form, and their conquest of Asia Minor, followed by the Ionic revolt against the subjection of Greeks to Oriental despotism, had brought Europe and Asia into direct conflict. But until the defeat of the two Persian invasions of Greece the Persians were more feared and hated than despised. It was Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea that first taught the Greek his true superiority over the "barbarian." Intellectual and artistic activity is but rarely found in its highest form without a corresponding political and physical vigour. The art of the fifth century was essentially national and patriotic as well as religious; the two ideas were combined in all the greatest works of sculpture, and if the Zeus of Phidias was the highest expression ever given by the Greeks to the ideal godhead, he was also an idealised personification of all that to a Greek seemed noblest in man—that is to say, in the Greek nation. And in many of the sculptures adorning temples and other public buildings that have come down to us the struggle between Greek and barbarian is represented, though rarely in a direct way. The struggle between light and darkness, between freedom and tyranny, between Europe and Asia, is the true theme of all the battles between gods and giants, or Greeks and Amazons, or Lapiths and Centaurs, and all are regarded as antitypes of the great struggle from which the Greeks themselves had just emerged victorious.

The political conditions of the time were also favourable to the production of monumental works. The common danger had drawn the various Greek cities together, and the deliverance from that danger was celebrated by common offerings to the gods. And even after the crisis the same tendency continued. The Delian confederacy, at first directed against the Persian power, ultimately became transformed into the Athenian empire, and its treasures were devoted to the monumental decoration of Athens. And the rapid development of a demo-

cratic constitution, combined with the peculiar conditions which surrounded it at Athens under Pericles, offered exceptional opportunities for the production of the greatest works of art. The democratic form of government encouraged that idealisation of the people without which its exploits could not be worthy of the highest artistic commemoration; while the actual predominance of such men as Cimon and Pericles, gave the originality, greatness, and continuity of design which a purely popular government could not attain. The artist, too, could work with more freedom and confidence if, even while devoting his highest efforts to the glory of his country and its gods, he was assured of a trustworthy protector to control the fickle populace. This protection was not always sufficient, as we shall see even in the case of Phidias himself. But without Pericles, we may well doubt whether the people of Athens would have enriched the Acropolis with those monuments of which they were so justly proud.

§ 30. *The Olympian Sculptures*.¹—Before the excavations at Olympia had been begun, it was expected that they would settle many doubtful points in the history of Greek sculpture, and would supply a standard of comparison to which other works of the same period might be referred. Pausanias, who describes the pediments of the temple of Zeus in considerable detail, also records the sculptors who made them—Paeonius for the eastern, and Alcamenes for the western; and as we possess a good deal of literary information as to the style and works of Alcamenes, the recovery of the Olympian pediments seemed likely to give us specimens of the sculpture designed by an artist who was, in the estimation of antiquity, second only to Phidias himself. It must at once be acknowledged that these anticipations have not been realised. Whatever may be our ultimate conclusion as to the trustworthiness of Pausanias' statement, and as to the artistic value and interest of the sculptures themselves, there is no doubt that the two pediments are very similar to one another in style, that the western pediment is very far from what we should expect from an associate and rival of Phidias, and that the eastern pediment does not show much similarity in its style to the other recorded work of Paeonius, the Victory, which has also been discovered at Olympia. The explanation of all these puzzles must be reserved for the present; it is best to begin

¹ *Olympia*, vol. iii.

with a description of what has actually been found, and afterwards to see whether it can be harmonised with the literary evidence.

The eastern pediment, as Pausanias tells us, represented the preparations for the chariot race between Pelops and Oenomaus. Oenomaus, so the story went, used to challenge all the suitors for the hand of his daughter Hippodamia to a chariot race in which death was to be the result of defeat; the competitors were always outpaced by his matchless horses. The course was from the Altis at Olympia to the altar of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth. Oenomaus used to give his competitor the start, while he sacrificed a ram on the altar of Zeus; then he would overtake him and slay him with a thrust from his spear. Pelops found means to bribe Oenomaus' charioteer Myrtilus, who was said to be also in love with Hippodamia; and he accordingly won, with the help of his horses, the gift of Poseidon. Oenomaus met the fate he had inflicted on so many others, and his daughter and his kingdom fell to Pelops. Such a theme was appropriate to the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The contest itself might be regarded as a prototype of the horse-races which formed so prominent a part of the Olympian festival, and the myth records the retribution inflicted upon presumption and barbarity under the direct sanction of Zeus himself, and by a hero who enjoyed his favour. Thus Pindar also celebrates it in his first Olympian ode; and it is probable that in the pediment, as in the ode, the underhand methods adopted by Pelops are ignored, and his victory is rather attributed to his own powers and to the favour of the gods—a far better precedent for the games of which it was the prototype.

The figures that have been recovered suffice for a complete restoration of the group, although the position of some of them cannot be fixed with certainty. Every possible arrangement has been suggested and discussed, and it is probable that many points will always remain doubtful, to afford exercise for the ingenuity of students. These open problems do not, however, interfere with our general appreciation of the work, either as regards composition or style. In the middle stands the majestic figure of Zeus, who is present to receive the sacrifice and to act as arbiter of the race; on either side of him stands a pair, man and woman—on the one hand Oenomaus and his wife Sterope, on the other Pelops and Hippodamia. Here the difficulties

begin. Pausanias tells us that Oenomaus stood on the right of Zeus; this might be interpreted either as "on the god's right hand," or as on the right from the spectator's point of view. It is clear that the latter is the correct interpretation.¹ Though the head of Zeus is lost, enough is left of the neck to show that it was inclined to his right, which is also the natural place for the favoured competitor—Pelops. These five figures, standing erect side by side, form the central group; this group is bounded on each side by the four-horse chariot that is to carry its master in the race. This is a device, here inseparable from the subject, which occurs often in pedimental composition. The receding line of the four horses on either side seems to throw the central group into stronger relief, while the space occupied by the horses and chariot is admirably adapted to take up a portion of the narrowing field, and to form a transition from the standing figures in the middle to the seated or crouching figures at the sides. In front of the horses of Oenomaus crouches his charioteer;² there is no evidence that the figure of Myrtilus in any way portrayed either his treachery to his master or his love to Hippodamia; perhaps the sculptor preferred, like Pindar, to ignore those features of the story, which certainly would have made the race a very bad precedent for the strict fairness of the Olympian games. Behind the horses come two figures on each side, about whom Pausanias has nothing to say except that they were the grooms of Pelops and Oenomaus respectively; the most remarkable of these is an old man of surprisingly realistic treatment and portrait-like

¹ See for eastern pediment, *Jahrbuch*, 1889, Pls. 8, 9; and for western pediment, *ibid.* 1888, Pls. 5, 6.

Here, as in almost all other disputed points, I follow Tren, whose thorough and continued study of the extant fragments gives his opinion the greatest weight. The evidence to be considered is fourfold:—

- (1) The description of Pausanias;
- (2) The position and size of the figures;
- (3) The working of the figures showing which side faced outward, and marks of clamps and other means of fixing them to the background or architectural frame, or of fitting them to one another;
- (4) The position in which the fragments were found, as thrown down by the earthquake that destroyed the temple.

² Pausanias expressly says that Myrtilus was seated in front of the horses; he can hardly be wrong on such a point, and so the kneeling girl cannot be placed here as an attendant of Sterope. She may pass muster among the figures of attendants in subordinate positions. Pausanias' other mistakes are mostly those of one who had seen and described the pediments, though his interpretation is sometimes in error.



FIG. 44.—Restoration of E. pediment of temple of Zeus at Olympia (Olympia). After Tren, *Jahrbuch*, 1889, Taf. 8, 2.

FIG. 45.—Restoration of W. pediment of temple of Zeus at Olympia (Olympia). After Tren, *Jahrbuch*, 1889, Taf. 6, 6.

features, who sits on the side of Oenomaus ; he seems to look on the scene with interest and foreboding, as if he were a seer who foresaw his master's fate ; behind him is the kneeling figure of a girl, whose presence in this position is not easy to explain. At the extreme corner, on Oenomaus' side, is the reclining figure of the river-god Cladeus, and in the corresponding corner on the other side is the Alpheus ; being thus at the south end, he is towards his own river, which bounded Olympia on the south, receiving a short distance farther on the tributary waters of the Cladeus, which bounded it on the west. Thus the geographical limits of the scene are strictly prescribed, as in the western pediment of the Parthenon. The whole composition is almost monotonously simple and symmetrical, but on the other hand it is an admirable example of the common rule that the scene over the east front of the temple is a quiet one. The five figures that stand side by side in the middle seem almost like supporting members in the architectural design ; the two female figures in particular, with the simple and severe folds of their drapery, seem to continue the effect of the fluted columns and the grooved triglyphs. In the groups at the sides too there is almost exact correspondence, but the preparations for the start are more advanced on the side of Pelops, whose charioteer sits ready with the reins in his hand behind the chariot, only a young groom crouching in front of the horses¹ to balance the figure of Myrtilus. The charioteer of Pelops, on the other hand, corresponds to the old man seated on the other side ; behind him again is a boy who kneels and probably holds the goad ; thus Pausanias is probably right in describing him also as one of Pelops' grooms, and so we must interpret the maiden who corresponds at the other side as an attendant of Sterope, and not as a local nymph or personification. The figures descend towards the corners in even gradation, their size and position being exactly fitted to the place which they occupy, a characteristic which we shall notice in the western pediment also ; thus Treu's restoration is throughout consistent with itself, though it must be admitted that some other restorations, such as that of Curtius, offer a more pleasing variety ; this, however, is not necessarily an argument for their correctness.

The western pediment offers the strongest contrast to the

¹ This part of Treu's restoration is quite certain from the shape of the basis of this figure, and from it follows certainty on some other doubtful points.

eastern, yet shows also the greatest similarity. Though we have here a series of contorted and struggling figures, in contrast to the almost lifeless repose of the eastern group, we see the same rigid symmetry in the composition, and the same even and unbroken gradation in the size and height of the figures; the number, too, of the figures in the two pediments exactly corresponds. To identify the subject of the western pediment, we little need the help of Pausanias' description. It represents the fight between the Lapiths and Centaurs at the wedding of Pirithous. In the centre is a majestic figure, standing quietly with his right arm extended. Pausanias took this figure to be Pirithous himself, and goes on to explain how the near relationship of Pirithous to Zeus justified his occupying so honourable a place. But it is hard to believe that a mere mortal, whatever his lineage, could be allowed to occupy a position corresponding to that given to Zeus himself in the east pediment; nor is this calm figure suited to the character of a bridegroom rescuing his bride amidst the onset of brutal ravishers. He is in the scene but not of it, and his mere presence and influence suffice to decide the issue of the *mêlée* that rages around him. Such a figure can only be a god, and the type can hardly represent any god but Apollo, who at Phigalia also comes to give victory to the Lapiths in their struggle with the Centaurs. On either side of him is a hero, presumably Pirithous on his right and Theseus on his left; each is turned away from the god,¹ and strikes at a Centaur who has seized a Lapith woman. These two groups of three figures, with the god between them, form the central composition. On the eastern pediment the central group, consisting of human figures, is framed, as it were, by the horses and chariots. Here too the central composition is framed, but variety from the extended groups, with a Centaur between two human figures, is attained by a different arrangement of combatants. The next group on either side consists of two figures only, a Centaur and a Lapith on one side, and a Centaur and a boy on the other; and in each case the horse-body of the Centaur is thrown into the background, so that the effect of the group is practically the same as that of two human

¹ This is the arrangement now adopted by Treu, and confirmed by the shape of the Centaur groups, each of which shows a regular slant down from the head of the hero to the head of the woman. It is true that the more richly draped woman, who ought to be the bride, thus comes on Apollo's left; but this can perhaps be explained.

figures. Beyond these comes once more a group of three figures on either side; first a woman, pulled down ~~on~~ to her knees by a Centaur who holds her with a backward grasp; he faces his Lapith adversary, who, kneeling, bends down his body to force the Centaur also on to his front knees; thus there is produced a narrow slanting group which admirably fills the diminishing field, and reaches quite near to the corner. Beyond these come two reclining figures on either side; first an old woman, evidently an attendant, who is raised on a sloping bed so that her head fits into its place in the slanting line; and at the extreme corner a youthful female figure with bared breast, probably a nymph or other local personification.¹ It is a curious fact that both the reclining figures at the left or north end of this pediment are of Pentelic marble, not of Parian like the rest of the sculptures; the old woman at the south end is also Pentelic, but the wedge-shaped bed on which she rests is Parian, and so is the nymph, all but her advanced arm, which is Pentelic. These indications, together with the softer execution of the Pentelic parts, show that they are a later repair, probably a copy of the original figures. The Parian portions at the south end offer clear evidence that both the reclining figures at each end existed in the original design, even if the requirements of the composition and the exact correspondence to the eastern pediment in the number of the figures did not sufficiently prove the fact.

This description will suffice to show not only the strict symmetry of composition that reigns in each pediment, but also the close correspondence which we may observe in the principles that control the two, in spite of their contrast of subject. In both alike we have the god as a central figure, the reclining figures at the ends; and the division of the central group of seven figures from the groups of subordinate characters at the sides by the interposition, on either side, of a group of different composition and character. When we proceed to consider the style of the sculpture, it is once more the similarity of the two pediments that impresses us. But here

¹ This is the usual interpretation, and I do not feel convinced it is wrong, especially considering the analogy of the eastern pediment, where the identification of the river-gods, though disputed, seems fairly certain. But Studniczka has produced very ingenious arguments for believing that the two female figures at the ends of the western pediment are merely Lapith women or slaves, who have escaped from the *mêlée* with their dress disordered. Cf. *Olympia*, iii. text, p. 186.

we are at once faced by a difficult question, the question whether this similarity may be due merely to the execution by local craftsmen of the designs made for the pediments by two different artists, or is inherent in the designs themselves, and so implies that the designs of the two pediments, if not from the same hand, are at least the work of two sculptors of the same school. Before we are in a position to deal with this question, we must examine the style with more detail.

It is obvious at first sight that the execution is of most uneven quality; such pieces of work as the right leg of the boy who crouches before the horses of Pelops in the eastern pediment, or the drapery and legs of the Lapith woman seized by a Centaur towards the right end of the western pediment, seem almost puerile or barbaric in their uncouth shape and appearance; yet, on the other hand, many of the heads and much of the modelling of the nude offer very fine specimens of bold and vigorous workmanship, admirably adapted to show well at a distance; for it must be remembered that these sculptures were about 60 feet above the ground, and therefore could not be seen at all from near, while in order to appreciate the general effect of the architecture and the sculptural groups, it would be necessary to stand a considerable distance away. The modelling of the nude male torso, as exemplified in the Zeus of the east pediment and the Apollo of the west, is correct, simple, and severe, and remarkably free from mannerism and exaggeration; it contrasts both with the dry and sinewy treatment of the Attic Tyrannicides, the slim waists and firmly-knit figures of the Aeginetan sculptures, and the heavily-marked muscles and veins of the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo and its replicas. It is hard to resist the inference that the Olympian Apollo was made by a master so trained in an athletic school as to be able to render the nude male form without any conscious effort making itself visible in his work. The Apollo of the west pediment is in many ways the best finished piece of sculpture preserved from the sculpture of the temple: the drapery of his chlamys is simple and broad in treatment, and free from those accidental folds or twists which, however closely observed from a model, seem inconsistent with the dignity of a monumental work; thus the archaic stiffness of which it still retains some traces does not seem out of place; it is the mixture of archaism

FIG. 46.—Apollo, from centre of W. pediment at Olympia (Olympia).

with realism in accidental detail that produces so strange an effect in some parts of the Olympian pediments.

In the treatment of the head and face, this Apollo is again the finest specimen. The modelling is strong and severe, and lacking in the delicacy of finish and play of surface which we have seen in Attic works. Every line is definite and clearly cut. The eyelids form a projecting frame which surrounds the eye-ball, but do not overlap at the outer corner; the mouth is simple in shape, and tends downwards from the middle towards either corner; the chin is full, almost heavy in its roundness. The hair comes so low as to conceal in part the modelling of the forehead; but in the head of Pirithous there is a deeply-cut groove separating the upper part of the forehead from the lower—the first clear recognition of this distinction between the male and female forehead, always rendered in later Greek sculpture. In the case of Pirithous the emphasis given to this line of division is partly due to the contraction of his brows as he lifts his axe to strike. The wrinkling of the forehead, to express pain or effort, is a device which we often meet with on this pediment, both in men and Centaurs. The mouth and eyes usually remain more or less impassive, except in the case of the Centaurs, who are treated throughout with more freedom than the Lapiths; it seems as if the impassivity of the latter were in part at least due to a desire to preserve the dignity of the heroes, and to assimilate them in some degree to their patron god. Only in some cases, as in the beautiful Lapith woman to the right of Apollo, or in the young Lapith whose arm is being bitten by his adversary, the contraction of eyes and mouth expresses, but with great restraint and moderation, the violence of the struggle. The Centaurs, on the other hand, by their open mouths and contorted faces, give free expression to their feelings, and so emphasise the contrast between the Greeks and their bestial antagonists. A similar realism occurs in some subordinate figures in both pediments, and goes far to show that these figures are rightly to be interpreted as attendants rather than heroes or personifications. The most striking examples are old people; the two old women who recline next the end figures in the western pediment are, as we have seen, copies in a different material, and betray in some points¹

¹ For example, the upper eyelid overlaps the under at the corner, instead of meeting it at an angle, as in the other figures.

the conventions and technique of a later age; but they must be pretty close copies of the originals which they replaced, and the realistic type of their faces is probably intended to characterise them as barbarian slaves. The old man who sits behind the horses of Oenomaus is almost like a realistic portrait, with his wrinkled forehead and pensive expression, the droop of his lower eyelids, and the heavy forms

FIG. 47.—Aged seer, from E. pediment at Olympia (Olympia).

of his features; and the same character is continued in the heavy forms of his body, and the deep-cut grooves and folds of flesh beneath his chest.

The hair, when it is treated sculpturally, is usually rendered in wavy lines on the head and over the forehead, ending in small spiral curls, finished with a drill; in some cases the small curls are all over the head. But often the hair is merely out-

lined in broad masses and then left plain: there is no doubt that we must regard such treatment as a preparation for the application of colour. This brings us to a very important factor in any criticism of the Olympian sculptures. The use of colour is evidently relied on or allowed for by the artists throughout their work, whether to bring out their modelling or to hide their shortcomings. It is possible that many things which now appear most unpleasing or inadequate in the plain marble, would with this help produce a very different impression, especially when seen from a distance. We need every such help to explain the defects of execution which meet us on all sides, and contrast not only with the vigour of the design and composition, but also with the excellence of the work in some parts, especially in the modelling of the nude male body.

With all these allowances, we may attribute the execution of the Olympian pediments to a school of local sculptors of varying excellence, brought up in the athletic traditions of the Peloponnese, and far more at home in the treatment of the nude male form than of female figures or of draperies, though some of them strive to remedy this defect by a close and even realistic study of nature in detail. Such realistic touches seem strangely inconsistent with the archaic stiffness of other parts; the combination of the two contrasts with the systematic and regularly evolved method of treatment which alone can properly be called style, and which we see in the treatment of female figures and drapery by Attic sculptors of the same periods or in the treatment accorded by the same Olympian sculptor, to subjects with which they were familiar. Doubtless a school of subordinate sculptors of athletic subjects must have been created at Olympia by the regular demand for statues of victors, and these men would naturally be employed in the execution of the pediments of the temple. It is quite a different question who was responsible for their design.

The external metopes over the colonnade that surrounded the temple were plain, but those over the internal columns that formed the entrance to the prodomus and opisthodomus, at front and back, were filled with sculptures, representing the labours of Heracles. Four columns imply three intercolumniations, and so there were six metopes in this position at either end. At the east were (1) the Erymanthian boar, (2) the horses of Diomed, (3) Geryon, (4) Atlas and the apples of the Hesperides,

(5) the cleansing of the Augean stable, and (6) Cerberus. Some fragments of all these were recovered by the German excavations, but only two in any approach to completeness. The

FIG. 48.—Metope from temple of Zeus at Olympia. Heracles and Atlas with the apples of the Hesperides (Olympia).

finest of all, both in preservation and in composition, is the fourth, in which Heracles stands bearing on his arms and his shoulders the weight of the heavens, which is conventionally represented by the upper part of the entablature. Behind him

stands one of the Hesperides, who raises one hand as if to help him in his task, while Atlas approaches and offers him the apples. The scene is full of naïve or realistic touches—the cushion which Heracles has placed on his shoulders to bear the weight, the friendly but futile help of the nymph, the irony with which Atlas offers the apples which Heracles is unable to take. The same character prevails in the fifth metope, where Heracles vigorously applies himself to his repulsive task, and Athena stands by and directs him. The hero is actually sweeping out the filth with a broom. The metopes of the west end represented (7) the Nemean lion, (8) the Lernaean Hydra, (9) the Stymphalian birds, (10) the Cretan bull, (11) the Cerynian stag, and (12) the Amazon Hippolyta. The greater part of (10) and the Athena from (9) were found by the French Expédition Scientifique, and are now in the Louvre, but both have been supplemented by new portions in the German excavations, which have also yielded fragments of the rest. The Nemean lion was represented as already vanquished, while the hero stood with one foot on his victim, and rested his head on his hand in weariness. The treatment of the ninth labour is also naïve and original. Athena sits in no very dignified attitude on a rock, and turns her head to look at the Stymphalian birds, which Heracles is bringing to her. The next metope is perhaps the finest of all; the artist seems to have found a subject to suit his skill in the struggle between Heracles and the Cretan bull, and the vigour and balance of the composition, as the bull springs to the right, and is held in by the hero, who leans right across the field to the left, could not well be surpassed. These metopes suffice to give us a notion of the character of the whole series; in execution they are very similar to the pediments; they show the same variety in the treatment of the hair, the same mixture of stiffness and realism in the drapery, the same excellence in the modelling of the nude male figure; we even find the same rough blocking out of the hair as a preparation for the application of colour; we see in them the same excellences and defects, except that, being in high relief and not in the round, there was hardly room for such glaring mistakes in the execution as we saw in some parts of the pediments. It is clear that the marble was actually carved by the same sculptors as worked on the pediment, and at about the same time. As to the originator of the designs

we cannot speak with so much confidence, but they are evidently the work of a man of bold and original imagination, who has invented many admirable compositions, though not

FIG. 40.—Metope from temple of Zeus at Olympia; Heracles and Cretan Bull
(Paris, Louvre; and Olympia).

always in strict accordance with the dignity of the subjects and characters represented.

To complete the sculptural decoration of the temple, acroteria were added by Paeonius, the same artist to whom Pausanias

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attributes the eastern pediment;¹ these were probably figures of Victory similar to the one which he made later for the Messenians in Naupactus, and which was found in the German excavations.² Upon the summit of the temple was a golden shield, dedicated by the Spartans after their victory over the Athenians and Argives at Tanagra at the end of 457 B.C. This gives us a date when the temple must practically have been complete, and so we have an approximate date for the sculpture; for the metopes must have been already in position, though of course some of the pedimental sculptures might have been added later. The temple is said to have been built from the spoil of the Pisatans, conquered by the Eleans probably a little before 470 B.C. Allowing some time for the preliminary architectural work, we have 460 B.C. as the date to which we must assign the sculpture of the temple; and this corresponds very well with what we should expect from the style of the work.

We must now return to the statement of Pausanias as to the design of the eastern and western pediments being due to Paeonius and Alcamenes respectively. The similarity in style of the two pediments, both to one another and to the metopes, may sufficiently be explained by assigning the actual execution to a local school of sculptors. The question is whether, allowing for this consideration and for others which we have noticed, such as the distance from which the pediments were to be seen and the application of colour, it is possible to attribute their original design to these two artists. If it is not impossible, we are bound to accept the statement of Pausanias, which is as clear and definite as any passage in an ancient author on which the identification of an extant work is based.

The only other fact known about Paeonius is that he made the Victory already mentioned for the Messenians of Naupactus, probably between 424 and 420 B.C.³ Though it must be admitted that in style this work is very different from the pediments, we must remember that it is from the artist's own hand, not only from his design. It may be a work of his old age, after he had fallen under the influence of Phidias and the

¹ It has indeed been suggested that a confusion of the acroteria and pediments gave rise to the statement of Pausanias; but this does not explain the introduction of Alcamenes.

² See below, § 43.

³ See below, § 43.

Attic school, and if so it offers no sufficient proof that he may not in his early manhood have designed the eastern pediment of the temple. With Alcamenes the case is different. He was a pupil and rival of Phidias. He made two statues dedicated by Thrasybulus after the expulsion of the "thirty tyrants" in 403 B.C., and even if these were the work of his extreme old age, and the western pediment at Olympia was not completed until after the building was practically finished in 456 B.C., we shall be forced to allow Alcamenes a period of artistic activity as long as that of Ageladas or of Sophocles. Still, we must admit it as barely possible that Alcamenes, as a Lemnian, may have been known to Paeonius of Mende, that he may have assisted, as quite a young man, in the design of the Olympian pediments, and may have had the design of the western pediment especially assigned to him. After this he may have attached himself to Phidias when he came to Olympia, and have accompanied him back to Athens. Still, if the pediments were only designed by Paeonius and Alcamenes, and their execution was left to local sculptors, it is difficult to see why the elder master should have needed an assistant; and the whole chain of bare possibilities we have just enumerated must be admitted to produce together a very improbable case. If we reject the evidence of Pausanias so far as concerns Alcamenes, its credibility as to Paeonius is seriously weakened. Perhaps the safest conclusion is to admit that Pausanias may conceivably be right, but that his statement involves so many improbabilities as to make us unable to draw any inferences from it either about the Olympian pediments, or about the two sculptors to whom he assigns them.

§ 31. *Calamis*.—We have already had occasion to mention Calamis by anticipation, in speaking of the rise of Attic sculpture up to the time of the Persian wars. But when we come to consider him and his works in their proper place, we find our knowledge perhaps more tantalising than in the case of any other of the great artists of antiquity. We know that his works were still greatly admired even in later times by those who had before them all the master-pieces of Greek sculpture in its prime and in its decadence; and a master who comes just before the period of highest achievement would be sure to appeal to our appreciation in a peculiar degree, so that his works, if we still possessed them, would probably be among the

most fascinating of all that Greek art has produced. But unfortunately we do not possess a single work which can be identified with any reasonable probability as even a copy after Calamis.¹

Beyond the barest catalogue of his works, the only information we possess about Calamis is derived from certain art criticisms. Some of these, such as those repeated by Cicero and Quintilian from some earlier source, tell us only what we could already have surmised from his date, that he still had something of the archaic stiffness and hardness in his style, but less than such men as Canachus and Callon. Fortunately, however, we are not left to such vague and fruitless generalities. Lucian, in one of his most interesting passages, is describing an ideal statue, which should combine the highest excellence of all the greatest works known, and so produce a perfect whole. This eclectic notion may not in itself be a very happy one, but nothing could possibly be more instructive to us, when we remember Lucian's extensive knowledge and excellent critical taste. He writes as follows:—

“Now you may see the statue growing under the artist's hand as he fits it together after various models. He takes the head only from the Cnidian goddess, for the rest of that statue, being nude, does not meet his requirements. But her hair and forehead, and the lovely curve of her brows, he shall leave as Praxiteles made it; and the melting eyes, yet bright and full of grace, this too he shall keep according to Praxiteles' design. But the round of the cheeks and front part of the face he shall take from Alcamenes and the goddess of the Gardens, and the hands too and the beautiful flow of the wrist, and the delicately shaped and tapering fingers shall be after the same model. But the outline of the whole face and the delicacy of the cheeks, and the duly proportioned nostril, shall be supplied by the Lemnian Athena and Phidias, and the same master shall supply the way the mouth is set in, and the neck, from his Amazon. Then the Sosandra and Calamis shall crown her with modest courtesy, and her smile shall be noble and unconscious as the Sosandra's, and the comely arrangement and order of her drapery shall come from the Sosandra, except that she shall have her head uncovered. And the measure of her age shall be as that of the Cnidian goddess; let us fix that too after Praxiteles.”²

¹ See note at end of this section.

² Lucian, *Imagg.* vi.

Here we notice, in the first place, that Calamis is mentioned as a not unworthy compeer of three of the greatest names in art. And when we go farther and notice for what excellences Calamis is preferred even to Phidias and Praxiteles, we find it is for no happily chosen type of feature, no detailed skill of execution, but for the "nameless grace" of the expression and the delicately elaborated composition of the drapery. We have already seen¹ that these are the two characteristics which are most prominent in the statues on the Athenian Acropolis, and that the earlier Attic artists seemed to be progressing along the very lines that would lead to a perfection such as that ascribed to Calamis. Then, again, we find the delicacy and grace of the style of Calamis contrasted by other authors with the grandeur and majesty of Phidias and Polyclitus, to illustrate the similar contrast between Lysias and Isocrates. When we remember that the simplicity and severity that contributes to the grandeur of Phidias is part of a Doric influence on Attic art of which we see many indications in the fifth century, it is hardly rash to infer that we may see in Calamis the most perfect development of the pure Attic style, as we have seen it growing in the Acropolis statues, and as we shall trace its further course in the over-elaboration of Callimachus,² and even at a much later time in the conventional grace of the neo-Attic reliefs.³

So far we have been concerned rather with an appreciation of the art of Calamis than with facts about his life and works. As to his origin we have no certain statement, but there seems enough evidence in what we know of his works and his school to justify the common opinion that he was an Athenian. As to his date, our only exact information is that he accepted a commission from Hiero of Syracuse, which was not dedicated until after that prince's death in 467 B.C.; a statue of Apollo Alexikakos by the hand of Calamis is said to have been dedicated after the great plague in 430 B.C. There is nothing impossible in an artistic activity which should last long enough to cover both dates, even allowing for the fact that at the earlier Calamis must already have been an artist of repute. But the other facts which we know about Calamis group themselves easily in the period which immediately follows the Persian wars, and the dedication of his Apollo is paralleled by

¹ § 23.² See § 38.³ See § 77.

the dedication of a corresponding Heracles by Ageladas of Argos, who certainly cannot have been still living at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war; and so we have no decisive evidence whether Calamis lived beyond the middle of the fifth century; in any case we may safely regard the most active period of his life as falling between the Persian wars and 450 B.C.

When we turn to consider the list of his works, we are at once struck by his great versatility; but one class of statue is conspicuously absent—the athletic, and this exception is instructive. Among gods he made statues of Apollo, Hermes, Dionysus, Zeus Ammon (the last for Pindar), Asclepius, Nike, and Aphrodite, who is probably to be identified with the Sosandra, his most famous work. He also made an Erinnys (or Fury) in Athens (later matched with two more by Scopas), and statues of the heroines Alcmena and Hermione; and these, not being made for public or religious requirements, may probably show us the bent of the artist's own inclinations. Another work of his was a dedication made by the people of Agrigentum in Sicily after their victory over the Phoenician and Libyan inhabitants of Motye; this consisted of boys represented as in prayer or thanksgiving, and was in bronze. Calamis is also said to have made several horses and chariots, including the two horses with jockeys made for Hiero of Syracuse. He was especially famous for his rendering of horses; Ovid and Propertius select this as the one thing for which he was most admired. He worked in marble, in bronze, and in gold and ivory, and one of his Apollos was on a colossal scale, 45 feet high. Thus we see that, although his style was probably a perfect exposition of Attic delicacy and grace, rather than remarkable for originality or the introduction of new and stronger elements, he kept in no narrow groove, but was a worthy representative of Greek sculpture as it might have been, but for the bolder conceptions and more severe tendencies that we see in his contemporaries.

NOTE.—A certain statue (the so-called Apollo on the Omphalos, see § 43) has been attributed by some high authorities to Calamis. But the external evidence in favour of this attribution is admitted on all sides, to be almost worthless, and it is merely a preconception, based of course upon classical authorities, as to what the style of Calamis is likely to be, that can lead us to accept it. I may therefore record that my own preconception as to his style would lead me to expect a statue extremely unlike, in all respects, to

this statue that has been attributed to him. Of course this opinion would have to yield to any real evidence, but as long as it is a question of preconceptions, one may be set against the other. Certainly neither must be used as a basis for any further inferences.

The altar quoted by Overbeck as reflecting the style of Calamis, and even reproducing two of his works, the Hermes Criophorus and the Sosandra, has been rejected by von Duhn and others on the ground that the Hermes at Tanagra is shown by coins to have been beardless; and there is nothing characteristic about the other figure. The style, being Attic, is not unsuitable, though rather too archaic to be derived from such famous works. The Wilton House statue of a Hermes Criophorus, even if it be traceable to the same source, is a conventional archaistic reproduction, of but little value for style.

§ 32. *Myron*. — In Myron even more than in Calamis we meet an artist who was declared by the common voice of antiquity to stand in the very foremost rank among sculptors. His name is again and again coupled with those of Phidias, Praxiteles, Polyclitus, and Lysippus. And fortunately in his case we are not reduced to quoting the opinion even of a Lucian. If we have no original from the hand of Myron, we at least possess copies of some of his most famous works, and so we are in a position to form our opinion as to his style at first hand. Let us follow the principle already adopted in other cases, and take our start from what is certain. The description given by Lucian of Myron's Discobolus could hardly be improved on for accuracy; if only we possessed a few more such descriptions of ancient works, the field for conjecture would be greatly narrowed; he calls it "the disc-thrower, who is bent down into the position for the throw; turning towards the hand that holds the disc, and all but kneeling on one knee, he seems as if he would straighten himself up at the throw." If we look at one of the many copies that are preserved of this statue, our first impression is of astonishment and even incredulity. A work of such extraordinary technical skill, and even placed in a most distorted attitude,¹ as if to increase the difficulties presented to the artist, may well seem at first sight most unlikely to be the product of the period of transition when sculpture was gradually freeing itself from the trammels of archaic stiffness, and approaching that perfection of technical skill which was essential for its highest development. Yet the facts are perfectly clear; the identification is a certain one, and even the period of Myron, before somewhat uncertain, has been fixed by

¹ "Distortum et elaboratum."—Quintil. ii. 13, 10.

FIG. 50.—Discobolus Lancelotti, after Myron (Rome, Palazzo Lancelotti).

Reproduced by permission from Braun-Bruckmann, "Denkmäler" (München).

an inscribed basis, found on the Acropolis, and dating from about 450 B.C., which bears the name of Myron's son and pupil Lycius as the sculptor.¹ Thus it is proved that Myron, as well as Calamis, must have worked in the period between the Persian wars and the middle of the fifth century. We must, then, accept the date of this work as certain, and look for an explanation of its character. In the first place we must remember that most of the copies with which we are familiar belong to a much later period, and have toned down the freshness and vigour of the original into a comparatively commonplace character; for style as well as for position the only trustworthy copy is that in the Palazzo Lancelotti² in Rome, and here we see a dryness and definition of work, especially in the rendering of the muscles, that reminds us most strongly of the Attic Tyrannicides (see § 23). For the vigour and even violence of the action we may also compare the same work, and thus Myron finds his place as the direct successor of Critius and Nesiotes, and the greatest exponent of the athletic Attic school, just as Calamis represents what we may call the graceful Attic school. But when we compare the Discobolus with this earlier work, we find a contrast as well as a resemblance. For the splendid and impulsive forward charge of Harmodius and Aristogiton, there is substituted a self-contained poise of the whole figure, which holds, as it were, concentrated within itself the power which in the Tyrannicides is already in full energy of action. The contrast is not so much in the choice of subject as in the choice of moment. The Discobolus is represented in the moment of rest that precedes the throw, and every muscle of his body is strained to the utmost, ready to contribute its part to the final effort. However much we may admire the impulsive vigour of the earlier work, we must acknowledge that Myron had a truer instinct for what is fitting to sculpture than the earlier artists, in that the subject he chose was not in violent motion but at rest, though the rest is but momentary. He may, indeed, show us on the one hand an exaggerated reaction against archaic stiffness, but, on the other hand, we see here the most skilful preservation of that *αὐτάρκεια* which we always find in Greek sculpture of the best period; the statue is self-centred and self-sufficient, and its meaning does not depend on any exterior

¹ 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, 1889, p. 179.

² Formerly in the Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne—so in earlier text-books.

object, nor, as often in the next century and later, on its relation to the spectator.

So far we have been concerned with only one of Myron's statues; but we have at least one other extant work which has been identified as his, and literary tradition gives us a good deal of information, more or less trustworthy, about his life and works. He was a native of Eleutherae on the frontiers of Attica and Boeotia, but he is often called an Athenian; he lived and worked in Athens, to which city his pupils also belonged. It is stated that Myron as well as Phidias and Polyclitus was a pupil of Ageladas of Argos. If in the case of Polyclitus such a relation to Ageladas were impossible,¹ it would impair greatly the authority of the statement in the case of the other two artists. The story may be due to a compiler under Sicyonian or Argive influence, who wished to insist on the continuity of the early Argive school and its influence on the greatest artists of other cities. But it is not without some historical basis. We have seen and shall see the importance of this influence on Attic sculpture of the fifth century. But apart from the story about Ageladas, there is no clear evidence for a personal connection of Myron with an Argive master. Though his athletic tendencies seem to lend colour to such a view, the originality with which he treated athletic subjects, the character of his style, and the type of face and figure which he prefers, all stamp his work as essentially Attic. His lithe and muscular but lightly-built athlete contrasts most strongly with the solid and even heavy forms of a Polyclitus, and there is a similar contrast in the head between the delicate oval and pointed chin of the Attic master and the square form and massive jaw of the Argive type. Myron's originality in athletic statues is best exemplified by his Ladas, which, from the epigrams written upon it and the fame it conferred on its subject, seems to have been one of the most famous of all antiquity. Ladas, the first runner of his day, won the long foot-race at Olympia, and died soon after from the effects. Myron's statue is said to have given living expression in every limb to the eager expectation of victory, and the breathless tension of the athlete whose supreme effort cost him his life. We must be content to know no more of this work than what we are thus told. About another of his works very many epigrams have been written,

¹ See §§ 24 and 41.

which, however, tell us more of the ingenuity of the writers than of the statue they celebrate. This is the bronze heifer, once in Athens, and later moved to Rome. This animal is said to have been marvellously life-like, and was even more famous than the horses of Myron's contemporary Calamis.

We have still to consider the other extant work of Myron; that is to say, the one of which we possess well authenticated copies. The case here, however, is not so simple as it is with the Discobolus. Among the works of Myron mentioned by Pliny is a satyr in wonder at the flutes and Athena—a group almost certainly identical with that of Athena and Marsyas on the Acropolis at Athens. We have repetitions of this group on a coin, a vase, and a marble vase with relief;¹ and with the help of these a marble statue in the Lateran at Rome has been identified as the Marsyas of the group,² and a smaller bronze in the British Museum, though worked out in the style of a later period, reproduces the same type. According to the myth, Athena invented the flutes, but threw them away on finding how they disfigured her face; they were picked up by Marsyas, who, after learning to play them, had the rashness to challenge Apollo and his lyre, and was flayed for his presumption. The legend is a favourite one in art, as symbolising in yet another form the contest between Greece and barbarism. The moment chosen by Myron is characteristic. The satyr Marsyas, advancing to pick up the discarded flutes, is suddenly confronted by the goddess, and his surprise is shown by his position and the strain of every muscle as his advance is changed to a backward start:—

ὥς ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη.

It is the momentary pause which follows this start that is here chosen by Myron, just as in the Discobolus he has chosen the momentary pause that precedes the violent motion. Then, since the motion was from within, the preceding moment seemed to contain the action in itself; here, since the impulse comes from without, it is the succeeding moment that shows its result most fully. Nor must we forget that the Marsyas is only one

¹ Called the Finlay vase, because formerly in that historian's collection; now in the Athens National Museum.

² A better copy, of the head only, is published in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'école française de Rome*, X. ii.

FIG. 51.—Copy after statue of Marsyas, by Myron (Rome, Lateran).

figure of a group; of the composition and balance of this group we may best form a notion by looking at the central group of the west pediment of the Parthenon,¹ which is certainly formed on the same lines—a resemblance to which we shall have to recur when we deal with the later work.

Of other works of Myron we know little more than the names; but even these are some indication. Except a Hecate at Aegina and Athena in two groups, we hear of no female statue from his hand. Statues of Apollo and Dionysus are among his works, as well as a group of Zeus, Athena, and Heracles. We may contrast with the Alcmena and Hermione of Calamis Myron's choice of subjects from the heroic cycle: among his most famous works were Erechtheus, Heracles, and Perseus. The Erechtheus, in particular, is quoted by Pausanias as the most remarkable of all Myron's works, though, curiously enough, he does not mention it in his description of Athens, where he says it stood.² We hear also of several athlete statues from his hand, a dog as well as the famous heifer, and certain *pristae*,³ of which the interpretations are so various and so plausible that we can only ignore them as evidence for his art. Finally, Myron was one of the most famous *torontae* of antiquity, and pieces of plate chiselled by him were prized by the connoisseurs of Roman times.

The material used by Myron appears to have been almost exclusively bronze;⁴ and he is recorded to have used the Delian composition, not the Aeginetan, preferred by Polyclitus. We must allow for this fact in considering his style. For style, our most trustworthy evidence is to be found in the best copies of the Discobolus and the Marsyas, which agree very well with one another. But we may also quote the opinions of classical authorities, based on a wider acquaintance with Myron's works. To pass over mere platitudes, which tell us that they were all but free from archaic hardness, or that they were so far advanced

¹ As in Carrey's drawing and other evidence. The Athena on the various copies of this group varies, and it is hard to decide how she was originally placed.

² Unless it be one of the Eponymi, i. 5, 2. Pausanias there mentions another statue of Pandion, and would probably have mentioned Myron's Erechtheus, if it were a different work.

³ It has been translated sea-beasts, sawyers, and players at see-saw. As carpenters they have been associated with the infant Perseus in a group; but Pausanias' description seems to imply a statue of him. Others emend to "*pyctas*."

⁴ The only apparent exception is a *ξόανον* of Hecate. For this word see Introduction (b). Perhaps it was gold and ivory; cf. S. Q. 539, note.

that one "need not hesitate to call them beautiful," or mere conjunctions of his name with those of other artists such as Phidias, Polyclitus, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, we find that the life of his statues is what most impressed later writers. This is the keynote of all the epigrams on his heifer; Petronius says he "*paene hominum animas ferarumque aere comprehenderat.*" The criticism quoted by Pliny is fuller; he says "Myron was the first to attain variety in realism; he was more versatile in his art, Polyclitus more studious of symmetry. Yet Myron concerned himself only with the body, and did not express mental feelings. In the rendering of hair, too, he made no advance on archaic models."¹ Quintilian, too, quotes the Discobolus as a work of art chiefly to be admired for the originality and difficulty of the subject, and adds that any one who found fault with its studied contortion would thereby stultify himself as an art critic.

Most of these criticisms are fully borne out by the works of Myron which we possess. In the treatment of hair, for example, the head of the Lancelotti Discobolus shows a conventional archaic treatment. Even the statement that he did not express mental feelings is not inconsistent with the life-like vigour and reality of his works. The contrast implied is with the subtle expressions of passion or emotion that mark the fourth century, or even with those great embodiments of an ideal character that were due to Phidias and Polyclitus. The distinguishing feature of Myron's work is the fulness of physical life, and its varied, sometimes even exaggerated, expression in bronze. In him we see complete mastery over the material; but the mastery is not yet so easy as to become unconscious; it is rather insisted on, and sometimes even the difficulty of the task is purposely increased, that the skill to overcome it may also be emphasised. Such a tendency in a late stage of artistic development may be a disastrous symptom; but in this early period it merely shows the first exuberance of freedom from the trammels of archaic stiffness, when every new artistic attainment is a trophy to celebrate the victory of the sculptor's skill over the stubborn material with which he has to contend.

NOTE, on Plin. xxxiv. 58 (*S. Q.* 533) "*numerosior in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior.*"—The interpretation of this much disputed

¹ See note at end of section.

passage depends on two things—firstly, the translation of the word “numerosior”; secondly, whether we accept and try to explain the astonishing statement of the MS. reading that Myron was more studious of symmetry than Polyclitus, or emend so as to make it mean exactly the opposite. The first of these also depends to some extent on the second.

It is very difficult for any one who has read the ancient criticisms on Polyclitus, which all uphold symmetry as his one most distinguishing characteristic, to believe that in a conventional criticism like this of Pliny's there is anything but a repetition of the same opinion. If so, the easiest emendation is to omit *et* with Sillig: its insertion by a scribe is easy to explain.

Then the rigid symmetry of Polyclitus, who made his works “*paene ad exemplum*,” is contrasted with Myron's variety of pose. This is in accordance with Pliny's use of the word “*numerosus*” elsewhere. The very comparison “*diligentior quam numerosior*” occurs in xxxv. 130, referring to an artist who spent much work upon but few pictures.

§ 33. *Pythagoras* is a sculptor of whose style and attainments it is peculiarly difficult to form any exact estimate. We possess no certain copy of any work of his.¹ Nor have we, on the other hand, so clear indications of his artistic associations and tendencies as in the case of Calamis, nor so suggestive descriptions of any of his works. Yet we are told that he surpassed Myron,² not only by a certain statue of a pancratiast at Delphi, but also in the rendering of hair, and care in the execution of veins and muscles; and that he was the first artist to aim at “rhythm and symmetry.” Beyond these statements we have little to go upon except the list of his works and some information as to his master and his nationality. This last point has fortunately been cleared up by an inscription found at Olympia on the base of one of his most famous works, in which he calls himself a Samian. Thus the mistake is corrected by which Pliny and others distinguish Pythagoras of Rhegium from a Samian artist of the same name. His family was probably among the Samian exiles who came to Rhegium and Messina soon after 496 B.C., and he seems throughout his career to have preferred to call himself a Samian, though he is described as of Rhegium by most authorities. His master is said to have been Clearchus of Rhegium, of whom we have somewhat inconsistent accounts;³ but the most probable attaches this Clearchus to the Spartan school, and his only recorded work

¹ Though we have some not improbable ones; see note (a) at end of this section.

² See note (b) at end of this section, on artistic contests.

³ See § 24. Possibly the connection with Clearchus was merely an invention to bring the most famous Rhegine master into relation with the early Rhegine sculptor.

stood at Sparta. It would, however, be rash to infer much about his pupil from these facts; the only thing clear is that Pythagoras, even if he was born in Samos, received his artistic education in Rhegium. Two of his works can be dated with some precision. The famous boxer Euthymus of Locri in Italy was thrice victorious in the Olympian games, and Pythagoras' statue of him was set up after his third victory in 472 B.C.¹ In the case of another athlete, Astylos of Croton, who also won on three occasions, from 488 to 480, the exact date of the statue is not so clear,² but it probably belongs to the time between 488 and 484. Thus the period of Pythagoras' artistic activity falls, like that of Calamis and of Myron, into the years immediately following the Persian wars. Several other athlete statues are ascribed to him—of the brutal wrestler Leontiscus of Messina, who made up for his lack of skill by breaking his antagonist's fingers; of the long-distance runner Dromeus of Stymphalus; of the hoplite-runner Mnaseas of Cyrene, better known as the Libyan; of Mnaseas' son Cratisthenes, with a figure of Victory in a chariot; of Pratolaus, the boy boxer from Mantinea. These suffice to show the variety of Pythagoras' athlete subjects, and the wide extent of his fame, but they tell us little of his style or treatment; and of another statue of his, the singer Cleon of Thebes, we only hear that it must have been richly draped, since a fold of its garment sufficed to conceal and protect for many years a sum of gold hidden there at the sack of Thebes. His subjects from heroic mythology are an Europa seated on the bull, highly prized by the Tarentines; a group of the brothers Eteocles and Polynices, who slew one another before Thebes: they were probably represented as a pair of combatants; a Perseus, who was represented with wings: here again he had a rival in Myron;³ and, above all, a Philoctetes—

¹ This is proved by the inscription, Loewy, 23.

² It has been inferred from the fact that Pausanias calls him "of Croton," while he was proclaimed at his second and third victories as Syracusan, to please Hiero, that this statue was set up after his first victory. If the statue in the temple of Hera Lacinia, which his townsmen destroyed, was a replica of this by Pythagoras, the inference is correct. But this is perhaps not certain. The nationality mentioned by Pausanias proves nothing about the nationality mentioned in the inscription, for Pythagoras is called by him "of Rhegium" in this context.

³ Unless the same work has by mistake been attributed to each sculptor in turn. We have but the briefest notice in each case, and the confusion would be easy.

if we are to identify Pythagoras' "lame man at Syracuse, who seems to make even those that see him feel the pain of his wound," with the subject of the epigram—

"Ulysses' peer, beyond all Greeks my foe,
The sculptor that recalls me to my pain ;
After the cave, the sore, the weary woe,
In lasting bronze I suffer all again."

The identification, however, though probable, is not quite certain; still less can two gems that represent a limping Philoctetes be taken, in the absence of all other monumental evidence, as a basis on which to ground our notion of Pythagoras' style. The only representation of any god by Pythagoras of which we have record is an "Apollo transfixing the serpent with his arrows." This very subject appears upon coins of Croton about half a century later, the god and the snake being placed one on each side of a large tripod which takes up the centre of the field. But although we may allow that the coin engraver may have had in his mind the group by Pythagoras, his artistic treatment would be practically independent; the composition would be prescribed by the shape of the field and here also by the prominent coin-type, the tripod, while the execution would be that of the coin engraver's own day.

Such are the meagre results of our criticism of the evidence as to Pythagoras. Indeed, there is hardly any artist of the same eminence of whose work we know so little. It would be easy to amplify this little by conjectures; but it seems more profitable to try to deduce from it what we really do know of this sculptor.

It seems clear, as we have already seen, that he was a contemporary, perhaps a rather older contemporary, of Calamis and Myron. Yet he seems to have advanced beyond them in some ways. The list of his works shows most prominently that he was above all a sculptor of athletes; and this fact tends to confirm the view that he fell under the Peloponnesian influence prevalent in his new home at Rhegium, instead of clinging to the Ionic traditions of his native island of Samos. But he certainly seems, to judge from the scanty criticisms of his work which we possess, to have been an artist of marked originality. The technical improvements attributed to him seem to indicate

him as more than any other the man to remove the last traces of archaic stiffness and convention, and to prepare the way for the most perfect products of Greek sculpture; and his "lame man, who seems to make even those that see him feel the pain of his wound," shows how completely he possessed the power of expression. Finally, the *ῥυθμός* and *συμμετρία* that are attributed to his work require more careful explanation. Symmetry, a careful study of the proportions and relations of different parts of the body, seems peculiarly suitable to a sculptor of athletes; but "rhythm" is a word of which it is not easy to catch the exact meaning.¹ I think its nearest English equivalent in this sense is "style," in the more technical usage of the word; that is, a treatment of all parts, in relation to one another and to the whole, after some definite and harmonious system. In the advance from archaic stiffness and convention to the freedom and perfection of the finest period, each artist had contributed his share. One had approached more nearly to truth to nature in the external forms, another had filled the whole body with life, another had refined the expression of the face, another had studied grace of detail and of composition. It seems to have been the especial function of Pythagoras to harmonise and unite all these improvements, and so to give a unity and homogeneity of style to the whole work, such as may often have escaped those who were too closely occupied with one aspect of artistic development.

NOTE (a).—One conjectural identification of a work of Pythagoras is in itself so probable and so consistent with external evidence as to his style that I have hesitated whether to insert it in the text; but it seemed to be excluded by the rule I have tried to follow, of admitting nothing that does not rest on some more definite evidence than is here available. The attribution to Pythagoras of a statue known by the numerous copies of it that have survived, including the so-called "Apollo on the Omphalos" at Athens (the Omphalos found near it certainly does not belong) and the "Choiseul-Gouffier" Apollo in the British Museum (see § 43), and the identification of it as the boxer Euthymus, was suggested by Dr. Waldstein, *J. H. S.* i. p. 168.

NOTE (b).—The stories of artistic competitions are somewhat difficult to deal with. Some are doubtless mere rhetorical fictions, based on the comparisons between the style of the artists concerned made by later critics; thus they are of no more value than the absurd tale of the poetical contest between Homer and Hesiod. But, on the other hand, actual artistic competitions, like those that are often held still when any great work is to be performed, are not in themselves improbable; and we have the best possible evidence that they were held, since Paeonius of Mende chronicles, upon the pedestal of his Victory,

¹ See note (c) at end of section.

his victory in the competition of designs for temple acroteria. In addition to this reference to Myron and Pythagoras, we have among others the competition of Phidias and Alcamenes for a statue of Athena, of Alcamenes and Agoracritus in making an Aphrodite, and the contest of various sculptors in making an Amazon for Ephesus. Some of these may possibly be based upon fact; but the evidence must be weighed in each case separately. Even if no competition took place, the stories may often preserve in a more or less rhetorical form the judgment of ancient critics as to works we have lost, and so are of value to us.

NOTE (c), on the meaning of the word *ῥυθμός* in the passage “Πυθαγόραν πρῶτον δοκούντα ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάσθαι.”—Rhythm, as here applied to sculpture, has usually been explained as in some way derived from the usage of the word to express regular and harmonious motion. But when a metaphor is transferred from one art to another, exercised under totally different conditions, the possible applications vary considerably. It is far safer to observe the usage of the word in connection with other things more easily comparable to sculpture; and here we at once find a clue. Of clothes, of a cup, of letters, the same word is used, where we can only translate it *style*. The meaning is a system or tendency, carried out in all the parts or members of any work of art or any series of connected objects, so that each harmonises with all the others, and with the whole. Pythagoras was the first to aim consciously at a consistent style.

§ 34. *Phidias*.—It will be best to state at once that the greatest of all Greek sculptors is not represented in our museums by any certain original from his own hand, nor even by an adequate copy of any of his well-known works. But, on the other hand, our information as to his life and works is considerable in quantity, though often vague or contradictory in its nature; and, above all, we still possess many works which were certainly executed under his immediate supervision, if not after his designs; and thus we have some material to aid our imagination in reconstructing those great statues which were universally acknowledged to be the highest products of Greek sculpture.

We do not know the exact year of Phidias' birth, but the period of his artistic activity, together with the fact that he was a bald-headed old man in 438 B.C. (see below), seem to show that he must have been born about the beginning of the fifth century. Thus his youth would be taken up with the stirring events of the two Persian invasions; he would be old enough to remember the news of the victory at Marathon; and ten years later he, like Aeschylus, may well have taken part in the battles at Salamis and Plataea of which he was later to celebrate the issue. The first fact in his career of which we have any record is that he became the pupil of Ageladas¹ of Argos. The similar

¹ As to the statement that he was also a pupil of Hegias, see note (a) at end of this section.

stories about the relation of Myron, and even Polyclitus,¹ to Ageladas may cast doubt on this statement; but in any case it probably represents a trustworthy tradition as to the influence of Argive art upon Attic in the fifth century. We are also told that Phidias was at first a painter; and we may perhaps trace the influence of his early training in the admirable pictorial composition shown by many of the works of which he superintended the design.

Some of the works attributed to Phidias may be confidently attributed to his earlier years. An Athena of gold and ivory was made for Pellene in Achaea before his activity in Athens and Plataea. At Delphi was a group of statues from his hand, dedicated by the Athenians from the tithe of the spoil of Marathon. Now Phidias was still in full artistic vigour in 438 B.C., as we shall see below; so he is not likely to have been employed upon a commission which implies acknowledged eminence fifty years earlier. It has been conjectured with great probability that this Delphian trophy was erected by Cimon to commemorate his father's prowess at Marathon, for Miltiades seems to have been the central figure; with him stood Athena and Apollo, and ten of the legendary heroes of Athens.² Such groups, or rather aggregations of statues, we know to have been customary productions of the school of Argos upon similar occasions, and so we may well attribute this work to the time before Phidias had freed himself from the tradition of his Argive school. It is probably the earliest of the works which he made for the Athenians during the period of Cimon's predominance, which began about 470 B.C. His best known work of this time was the colossal Athena³ of bronze which stood in the open on the Acropolis at Athens. The only artistic fact recorded about this statue is that its shield was later embossed by Mys with the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs after the designs of Parrhasius; perhaps the severity of Phidias' earlier work seemed, to those who were familiar with the rich decora-

¹ Robert contends that Polyclitus could not have been Ageladas' pupil. See § 41.

² Only seven of these are "eponymous" tribe heroes. It has been suggested that three were replaced by the three later kings whom Pausanias saw in their places. In confirmation of the above date, it must be remembered that the disgrace of Miltiades soon after Marathon made such a group impossible until time and his son's influence had left only his glory in the memory of Athenians.

³ The title "promachos" sometimes given to it rests only on poor authority, and is likely to give rise to a misconception, if it does not itself arise from one.

tion of his later statues, to require some additional ornament. We do not know the exact dimensions of the statue, but the views of the Acropolis represented on coins seem to show that it was large enough to stand up conspicuously among the buildings that surrounded it; Pausanias says that the crest of the helmet and the point of the spear could be seen from off Sunium; and although the exaggeration of this statement shows his failure to realise the geographical conditions, it in no way impairs the inference as to the position and size of the statue with which he was familiar. The goddess must have stood upright, her right arm resting on the spear, of which the point shone above her head.¹ But beyond this we know no details, nor are there sufficient data for the identification of a copy of this colossal Athena among extant works. This Athena, like the group at Delphi, is said by Pausanias to have been dedicated from the tithe of the spoils of Marathon; other authorities state that it was a memorial of the Persian wars; in any case it cannot have been erected until some years later, if our inferences as to the date of Phidias' birth are established.

It was natural enough that the artist employed by Athens to commemorate her victories over the Persians should also be commissioned to make a statue of Athena Areia for the Plataeans, from their share of the spoils of Marathon. At Pellene, as we have seen, Phidias had already made an Athena of gold and ivory, and in this Plataean work he had an opportunity of making yet another study for his final embodiment of his patron goddess; and this time he was working on a colossal scale,

¹ It is probable that this statue was later removed to the Forum of Constantine at Constantinople. If so, it may well be identical with the bronze statue described by Nicetas, who records its destruction by the mob in 1203 A.D. (see H. Stuart Jones, *Selected Passages*, etc., No. 101; not in *S. Q.*) This statue was 30 feet high; its robe reached to the feet, was gathered together in several places, and was tightly girded. It had an aegis with a gorgon's head on the breast; the neck was long and exposed, and was a sight of surpassing delight. The veins stood out, and the whole frame was supple and well-jointed. The hair was plaited and fastened at the back; on the forehead it showed beneath the helmet, and was beautifully rendered. The left hand supported the gathered folds of the dress; the right, stretched towards the south, kept the head slightly turned in the same direction, and also the direction of her gaze. The spear and shield must have been left behind when the statue was moved. Otherwise the description may apply. The main difficulty in accepting the identification is that the Athena by Phidias set up in the Forum of Constantine is said to have been the gold and ivory one (*S. Q.* 690). Though this may be a mistake, it makes us hesitate in accepting the description given by Nicetas as first-rate evidence concerning one of the best known works of Phidias.

though he was obliged to content himself with cheaper substitutes for the richest of all materials; the Plataean Athena was of gilded wood, with the face and hands of Pentelic marble.

The early career of Phidias is not difficult to trace, though we do not know many details about it. But as to his later years our information is at once fuller and more contradictory. And before we consider the works of this time, it will be best to dispose at once of the evidence as to his life, so far as it concerns the sequence of his two greatest statues. We know three facts for certain—that he worked for some time at Olympia, where he made the great statue of the Olympian Zeus; that he had the chief direction of all the artistic activity at Athens under Pericles, who was his personal friend, and that during this time he made his other great chryselephantine work, the Athena Parthenos; and that he fell into more or less serious trouble at Athens owing to accusations made against him by Pericles' political opponents, of peculation and of sacrilege in representing himself and Pericles on Athena's shield. So far all documents are in accord; but when we try to establish the chronology, absolute and relative, of these various events, we are met by a mass of confusions and contradictions.

Three orders of sequence have been maintained, and there is some evidence to be quoted in favour of each. It may be supposed (1) that Phidias worked in Athens until 438 B.C., when the Athena Parthenos was dedicated, that he then went to Olympia and devoted 438-432 B.C. to making the statue of the Olympian Zeus, and that in 432 he returned to Athens, was put on trial, and died in prison, as Plutarch says;¹ or (2) that he worked in Athens till 438 B.C., that he was tried and condemned to banishment, or voluntarily exiled himself to Olympia, and that he then made the statue of Zeus, and died at Olympia, or, as others say, was put to death there on a charge of embezzlement;² or (3) that he went to Olympia after his work under Cimon at Athens, stayed there until about 446

¹ So K. O. Müller. Plutarch's version is probably derived from Ephorus, who lived about 350 B.C.

² This is practically the story given by the Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Pax*, 605, from Philochorus (280 B.C.). This Scholium is convincingly restored by Schöll, *Munich Sitzungsberichte*, 1888, i. p. 20; he punctuates before ἐπὶ Σκυθοδώρου [*leg.* Πυθοδώρου]. Then the whole consists of two quotations from Philochorus: (1) 438 B.C. Dedication of statue; Phidias' trial and exile; (2) 432 B.C. Megarian decree, etc. Then the Scholiast goes on to remark that Aristophanes was wrong in connecting the two, since there was six years' interval between them.

B.C., when he was recalled to take charge of the work under Pericles, and that he never left Athens again, but died there, perhaps in prison after his arrest.¹

Between the first and second of these possibilities there is little difference, so far as we are concerned; though it seems improbable that a man who failed to clear himself of a charge of embezzlement and sacrilege in making one gold and ivory statue would at once be employed to make another, the Eleans might well be aware of the purely political nature of the charge. We know, however, that they, far from disgracing Phidias, preserved his studio as a precious relic, and gave special privileges to his descendants, who were employed as *φαιδριῶται* to look after his great statue. But the argument of the Scholiast, who insists on the long interval between the trial of Phidias in 438 B.C., and the Megarian decree in 432 B.C., and bases his assertion on quotations from Philochorus, seems to outweigh all other evidence. There is, however, no historical objection against the third hypothesis, that the Olympian statue was made before the Athenian; only, if direct evidence fail us for deciding the priority of either, it seems less likely that the Athenian artist would have been called to embody for all Greece the highest conception of the national god in the common shrine of the nation until after his conspicuous success in giving to his native city an ideal representation of her patron goddess. It would probably have required some such proof of his superiority over all other sculptors before he would be chosen at Olympia, where there was a preponderance of Peloponnesian over Attic influence; and before the Athena Parthenos, we have no evidence that Phidias had produced any work which made a great impression outside Athens. We will accordingly mention the Athenian works before the Olympian, but without any dogmatic assertion as to the sequence of the two.

Phidias, as we have already seen, was entrusted by Pericles with the general direction of the artists who were employed to beautify Athens with the most magnificent monuments of architecture and sculpture that were set up during the few years of the highest glory of the city. Of these works, which may all be reckoned as more or less directly the products of Phidias' genius, we shall have to speak in the following sections; here we are concerned with those statues of which he himself under-

¹ So Loeschke, *Phidias' Tod*, etc.

FIG. 52.—Roman copy after the Athena Parthenos by Phidias, found near the
Varvakelion at Athens (Athens, National Museum).

took the execution, and which were in ancient times regarded as the chief examples of his art, though, now that they have perished, we are compelled to infer their character from the surviving remains of the minor works made under his supervision.

FIG. 53.—“Lenormant statuette,” unfinished copy after the Athena Parthenos by Phidias, found in Athens (Athens, National Museum).

Foremost among these statues stands the Athena Parthenos, the great gold and ivory statue to which the Parthenon served as a shrine. Of this Athena we have many copies, more or less remote; indeed, the type of the goddess, as fixed by Phidias in this statue, may be said to predominate throughout all later art. But as to position and accessories, the best evidence is afforded

by two copies¹ which evidently, from their correspondence with the description of Pausanias, are intended to reproduce in all details the Athena of the Parthenon. Both were found in Athens, and both still remain there. The smaller, known as the Lenormant statuette, is not devoid of artistic merit, and may give us some notion of the general character of the original; it is very slight and sketchy, and its unfinished state leaves much to the imagination. The larger, known, from the place where it was found, as the Varvakeion statuette, is wonderfully perfect, even to the preservation of traces of colour, and it gives all the accessories with a precision of detail that has settled once for all many disputed points. But, on the other hand, it is perhaps the most extreme example of the base mechanical way in which a copyist of Roman times could utterly lose all the grandeur and beauty of his original, while reproducing its details correctly. It bears the same relation to Phidias' statue as the coarsest German oleograph after the Sistine Madonna bears to the picture which it affects to reproduce. With this reservation, it is of use to us for an imaginary reconstruction of Phidias' great statue.

The Athena Parthenos was the embodiment of all the highest aspirations of the Attic religion. The conception of this goddess, as it found worthy expression at the hands of Phidias, is especially characteristic of Athens, just as the Panhellenic Zeus belongs to all Greece. This is not the place to trace the mythological development of the type, or to distinguish the different elements that are blended in it. To the Athenian of the fifth century Athena was the guardian of her peculiar city; strong therefore in war, but by skill and energy rather than brute force; the protectress of civilisation against barbarism; to her was due the invention of all the arts of war and peace, and the inspiration of literature and art. In her the quickness and versatility of the Attic mind, the purity and brilliance of intellectual temper, seems to find its most characteristic expression, in contrast to the more solid virtues of the rest of Greece. The simpler aspect of Athena as the protectress of Athens had been embodied by Phidias in his colossal bronze statue on the Acropolis; her more peaceful side was presented by the famous Lemnian Athena, to which we must later recur. The Athena Parthenos was indeed fully armed, with her spear, helmet, aegis,

¹ For other copies see Schreiber, *Die Athena Parthenos*.

and shield; but these are passive rather than active attributes, and the profuse decoration with which every available surface was covered seems to emphasise the impression that they are symbolic of a potential energy rather than prepared for actual use. The spear and shield, too, merely rest on the ground, and are supported by the left hand of the goddess, and the Nike who stands on her right hand, and forms her most conspicuous attribute, has reference in earlier times to the victories of peace "no less renowned than war," to athletic, musical, and artistic emulation in her honour; though, doubtless, the notion of victory over the enemies of Greek culture and civilisation was here as elsewhere included. Here, to descend to more technical details, we meet a disputed point. In the Varvakeion copy, as well as in a relief now in Berlin evidently derived from the Parthenos, we find a column supporting the right hand of the goddess on which the Nike stands. The discovery of so clumsy an expedient has naturally been received with astonishment or incredulity by many who have studied the works of Phidias; yet the evidence seems too strong to reject, that such a column actually existed as a part of the statue when the copies in question were made. The best explanation seems to be that the statue as Phidias designed it had no such support, but that at a later time some damage or defect in the complicated mechanism of a chryselephantine statue¹ made it necessary to add a support which, however unsightly in itself, did not necessitate any tampering with the original work.²

Another attribute was the Erichthonius snake which curled itself inside the shield; and the whole statue from above the head to beneath the feet was decorated with a profusion of designs such as might under different circumstances seem excessive, but which here was in harmony with the rich materials and colossal size of the work. On the helmet of Athena were a sphinx and two gryphons to carry the triple crest; and beneath these, over the forehead, was a row of the foreparts of horses. On the outside of her shield was the Gorgoneion, which was also repeated on the aegis that covered her breast; round this Gorgoneion on the shield was represented in relief the battle of

¹ See Introduction (b).

² Dr. Waldstein maintains that the column is simply a support introduced in the translation to marble; but it is at least an unusual form for such a support to take.

the Greeks and Amazons. It was in this scene that Phidias had introduced the figures of Pericles and himself, which were made a subject of accusation against him. And it was said that he had so contrived his own portrait that it could not be removed without loosening the whole structure of the statue. These two figures may be recognised on the copy of the shield in the British Museum, known as the Strangford shield,¹ and the bald-headed but vigorous old man who is identified as Phidias not only offers valuable evidence about his age at the time, but is of the highest interest as the only instance we possess of a portrait of a Greek artist by himself. On the inside of the same shield was the fight of the gods and giants. Even the sandals had a thick sole which offered a field in which the contest of Lapiths and Centaurs could be introduced. But the most extensive field for ornament was offered by the pedestal of the statue; on this was the scene of the "Birth of Pandora," in which Athena played a most important part, giving life to the new-created woman, decking her with clothes and ornaments, and teaching her woman's handicraft. It is easy to see the significance which such a myth might receive at the hands of a fifth-century sculptor working in the service of Athena.

It was evidently the wish of the artist, in giving his great statue this richness of decoration, not merely to produce an effect suitable to the size and material of his subject, but also to associate the goddess in this her most perfect representation with all the greatest events, human and divine, in which she had taken part, and especially to ascribe to her all the victories of Athens over barbarian foes, all her magnificent attainments in the arts of peace; to summarise, in fact, in the accessories of the statue all on which Athens in the fifth century most prided herself, just as the statue itself embodied the patron goddess who was the life and inspiration of the city. Now that the original is lost, no copy can give us a notion of anything beyond the position and accessories of the work. As to what we may infer as to its artistic character and its influence upon the history of sculpture, we shall be better able to judge when we have considered Phidias' other great work, the Olympian Zeus.

Before this it will be best to dispose of other works of Phidias which fall most naturally into the period of his activity

¹ A. Z. 1865, Pl. cxcvi,

at Athens, under Pericles or at an earlier time. The best known of these was the Lemnian Athena, so called from those who dedicated it, probably the Attic colonists in Lemnos, who were sent out between 451 and 447 B.C.¹ This statue is one of the two selected by Lucian as the most beautiful of Phidias' works, and from it he would choose "the outline of the whole face and the delicacy of the cheeks and the fair proportion of the nose." We know nothing more for certain about this statue, but Lucian's selection seems to imply that beauty of feature was its chief characteristic; the other models he chooses, except Phidias' Amazon, are all, probably, types of Aphrodite. A passage of Himerius, who says that Phidias did not always represent Athena armed, but "decked the Virgin Goddess, with a blush upon her cheek to serve instead of a helmet to veil her beauty," has been brought into connection with this Lemnian Athena, and used to prove that the goddess was represented without her helmet on, in a type not unknown about this period. But the passage, even if it be referred to any particular statue, other than the Athena Parthenos, is too obviously rhetorical to be of any value as to details of fact; and we must be content to remain in ignorance how Phidias represented Athena in what many considered the most beautiful of all his works.²

Of another statue at Athens by Phidias, the Apollo Parnopius, we know nothing but the name. Phidias is also said to have been one of four artists who competed in making for Ephesus a statue of a wounded Amazon; the other three were Polyclitus Cresilas, and Phradmon; Polyclitus was awarded the first place, and Phidias the second. Certain extant statues of Amazons have been brought into connection with this competition; but before we can discuss either the probability of the story itself, or the attribution of the various Amazons to their respective sculptors, we must wait until we have some notion as to the chronology and style of the other artists; and so this Amazon must be reserved for the present. It is referred to also by Lucian in the passage just quoted, where he selects from it for his model statue "the setting-in of the mouth and the neck."

¹ See Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii. p. 538.

² It is clear that when we have practically no data for identification, it is at least out of place in the text of a handbook like this to mention conjectural identifications of this statue among extant works. See note (b) at end of this section.

We must now go on to what was generally regarded by antiquity as the greatest of all the works of Phidias, the colossal gold and ivory Zeus at Olympia.

The monumental evidence about this statue is even less satisfactory than in the case of the Athena Parthenos. For we have not even a well-attested copy, however inferior in execution, to guide us. Apart from the very full description of Pausanias—which, however, tells us much more about the accessories than about the statue itself—and other literary references, we have nothing definite to help our imagination but some late coins. The difficulty here lies chiefly in the fact that the type as adopted and new created by Phidias was so universally recognised as the most fitting representation of Zeus that it was constantly reproduced with small variations;

FIG. 54.—Olympian Zeus,
from a coin of Elia.

FIG. 55.—Head of Olympian
Zeus, from a coin of Elia.

and the Olympian statue had no distinct accessories by which we might identify any copy that has a claim to be more immediately derived from the original.

The Olympian Zeus was seated upon a throne which in itself offered perhaps the most splendid collection of decorative sculpture that Greece ever produced. On his extended right hand stood a statue of Victory; his left arm was raised, and rested on a sceptre surmounted by an eagle. His chest was bare; but a mantle enveloped his legs and the lower part of his body, and hung in rich folds over his left shoulder. This mantle was decorated with animals and flowers, either embossed or damascened; of the effect of such work on the drapery we can now judge to some extent from the sculptures made by Damophon at Lycosura,¹ which, though in marble, reproduce

¹ See § 52.

the effects of gold and ivory technique. The throne itself was worked in gold, ebony, and ivory, and precious stones. A mere enumeration of the subjects which were represented upon it, such as that given by Pausanias, suffices to show how every available space was filled with figures. For the legs of the throne served, like Caryatids, figures of Victory; the arms were sphinxes, and each of the uprights at the back was surmounted by a group of three figures, the Graces and the Hours. The size and weight of the statue necessitated extra supports, and so pillars, which probably bore the greater part of the weight, were placed between the legs. Along the edge of the seat at each side was a representation of the slaying of the Niobids by Apollo and Artemis; and along the cross-bars, which ran from leg to leg, was the battle of Greeks and Amazons, extending over the two sides and the back; on the front this same cross-bar bore statues (*ἀγάλματα*), seven when Pausanias saw them and formerly eight in number, which seem to have represented some of the principal athletic contests. For one of these, which represented a youth binding his head with a fillet, the young athlete Pantarces, victor in the boy's wrestling match of 436 B.C., is said to have served as a model; if so, we have a further indication that the date of Phidias' work at Olympia was later than his work in Athens. While most of the other decorations were probably in friezes of relief, these figures on the front cross-bar seem to have been statues in the round; they were seen from the front, and typified the great agonistic festival of which Zeus was the patron; thus figures of athletes appear beneath his throne on vases also.¹ If the throne had been open beneath the seat, its complicated structure of legs and pillars would have had a most unsightly scaffold-like appearance. A screen was therefore provided, which prevented a spectator from seeing into the interior, while it offered a background which threw up more clearly the structural lines of the nearest side. This screen went round all four sides of the throne. In front it was plain, and painted dark blue to give a good background to the gold drapery of the great statue, and to the small statues, of gold and ivory, that stood on the cross-bar. On the other sides, where the decorated cross-bars and the pillars divided it into panels that offered an

¹ Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, Pl. i. 9 and 16. Cf. Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 7.

excellent opportunity for decoration, it was painted by Phidias' brother (or nephew) Panaenus. The arrangement of the subjects of his paintings is not hard to fit in symmetrically. Apparently, from Pausanias' description, there were three groups on each side; and the field for decoration is so divided by many writers, though the division does not otherwise agree with Pausanias' description of the throne. But really the third "group" on each side is two independent female figures standing side by side. Hence it follows that in the upper part on each side we have two groups, usually in lively action, in the metope-like panels; while below, the panels being higher in proportion, we have single female figures, standing in restful postures, and so supplying, as it were, a quiet and dignified support, to be varied above by the more violent action of the upper groups. Thus on the first side (probably the left of Zeus himself) were Atlas and Heracles, and Theseus and Pirithous, above; below, Hellas and Salamis with a naval trophy; on the back, above, were Heracles and the Nemean lion, and Ajax and Cassandra; below, Hippodamia and her mother, standing as in the pediment of the temple; on the right side, above, were Prometheus bound and Heracles, and the dying Penthesilea supported by Achilles, this last group, as Pausanias expressly says, the last of the series of paintings; this proves the correctness of the arrangement which places the two Hesperides in the two spaces below.¹ On the front of the footstool of Zeus, which was flanked by lions of gold, was a representation of the battle of Theseus against the Amazons; and on the pedestal which supported the throne was a relief in gold, with Aphrodite arising from the waves, and received by Eros and Peitho; on either side stood three pairs of divinities, and at the ends were Helios and Selene—a great composition which reminds us of the Parthenon pediment with the birth of Athena. The size of this relief we can measure pretty exactly, since the traces of the pedestal have been recovered at Olympia; its breadth was 22 feet (6.65 m.), extending right across the cella, between the two rows of internal columns. Its length from front to back was half as much again, to give room for

¹ The arrangement of these paintings has usually been misunderstood in interpreting Pausanias. See my paper in *J. H. S.* 1894, p. 233. I cannot reconcile the position for them advocated by Murray, *Mittheil. Ath.* vii. p. 274 (and accepted by Dörpfeld, *Olympia*, ii. p. 18), with the description of Pausanias.

the footstool in front of the throne. The height of the slabs to which the golden figures were affixed was 2 ft. 5 in. (.73 m.); their material was black Eleusinian stone, like that used for a precisely similar purpose in the Erechtheum frieze at Athens, where, however, the reliefs affixed were not in gold, but in white Pentelic marble. In both cases the dark background must have thrown the bright figures into relief, just as the dark blue screen or panel above served as a background to the decoration of the throne. As to the size of the statue itself we have no certain information. Pausanias tells us that its measurements were recorded, but gave no adequate notion of its majestic size. But we hear it was so large that Zeus could not arise from his throne without putting his head through the roof, and hence, as we know the dimensions of the temple,¹ we can infer that the statue was between seven and eight times life-size, or about 35 feet high (exclusive of the pedestal).

But these descriptions of detail or estimates of dimensions after all give us no notion of the statue itself. For this, so far as we can learn anything definite at all, we are reduced to references, direct or indirect, in classical authors, and to such a general notion of the Greek type of Zeus as one may gather by looking at the sheets of Overbeck's *Kunstmythologie*. One tale claims to record Phidias' own reply when he was asked by his collaborator Panaenus in what type he would embody his conception of Zeus; he is said to have quoted Homer's famous lines—

ἦ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων·
ἀμβρόσια δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἀνακτος
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον.

This story, if not true, is at least characteristic. Phidias doubtless endeavoured to embody in his work the poetical rather than the purely mythological aspect of Zeus—the aspect under which he was worshipped by all Greeks who had risen to the idea of a god who, while remaining essentially the god of the Greek people, included in himself all that was noblest of divine power and perfection, but after a distinctly human and anthropomorphic model. But the work of Phidias also reacted upon the religion by which it was inspired. Quintilian says of the

¹ See *Olympia*, ii. Pl. xi.; Text, p. 13, etc. Dörpfeld takes 8 times life size, Adler 7½. There seems no reason to go far beyond the minimum. The statue in any case would have had very little room to spare.

Zeus at Olympia "*cuius pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur; adeo majestas operis deum aequavit.*" Numerous other references, mostly rhetorical in their nature, vie with one another in their endeavours to express in some new and impressive way that it was the greatest work of art in the world, and that such a work had a religious and ennobling influence on all who saw it. To the people it was the express image of Zeus himself; to the philosopher it represented the form in which Zeus would appear, if he should choose to reveal himself to mortal eyes. Both Phidias' Homeric quotation and the accessories of the statue show us that the King and Father of gods and men was represented as benignant but all-powerful, shaking heaven with the nod that granted a prayer; and that divine justice, even manifestations of divine power of which the justice is shrouded in mystery, were by no means left out of sight. The Theban sphinxes and the destruction of the children of Niobe were conspicuous. There were also contests in which, by the favour of Zeus, his people had triumphed over barbarism; labours of Heracles, and the fight with the Amazons, twice repeated. And the god was also surrounded with all those lesser divinities through which his benefits are administered, the Hours and Graces; and on the pedestal was the birth of Aphrodite. We may well believe that all these different elements that found symbolic representation on his throne found also their most perfect expression in the face of the god himself; but of that expression, now that the original is lost, we cannot hope to form any exact or adequate conception.

Another work made by Phidias near Olympia was the statue of Aphrodite Urania at Elis, which was of gold and ivory. We know nothing of the statue, but that the goddess rested one foot on a tortoise. Scopas later made a statue of Aphrodite Pandemus to match, riding on a goat. There was also one portrait statue of an athlete by Phidias at Olympia, a boy binding his head with a fillet. The same motive was repeated in one of the athlete statues on the throne of Zeus; perhaps Phidias made this athlete statue as a study for the other; but it must not be confused with a different statue at Olympia of Pantarces, whom the boy on the throne is said to have resembled.

As we have already seen, there is no extant work which can give us any even approximate notion of the great works of Phidias—those which were in the mind of any Greek who

spoke of him with reverence as the greatest master of ideal sculpture. We must deal separately with works made under his more or less direct supervision or influence. Here we are concerned with statues like the Athena Parthenos and the Olympian Zeus; and when we realise how hopelessly these are lost to us we may well be excused some discouragement in a study which may, in their absence, seem to lack its highest theme. But on the other hand this very loss makes a systematic and careful study the more indispensable. If we still possessed all the masterpieces of Greek sculpture, we might perhaps prefer contemplating their beauty to studying their history and relation to one another. But now we can very often form an idea of a great statue only by observing the series to which it belongs, and of which some links still remain, or by observing its influence upon other contemporary works or upon a later period. In this way it is not impossible to appreciate the position of Phidias. He was the first to make ideal statues; that is to say, not that he created, purely after his own imagination or fancy, what were accepted by the Greeks as the most perfect representations of the gods, but that he took the type prescribed and consecrated by tradition as belonging to this or that deity, filled it with a new life and a higher meaning, while inspired by the religious conceptions of those for whom he worked, but raising them above such notions as were commonly received; in fact, we may almost put in his mouth the words of another who turned to a new and higher meaning an accepted element of Athenian religion, "whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you." The art of the fifth century is still essentially religious; and, consequently, the reaction of art upon religion was at this period extremely strong. When works like the Athena Parthenos and the Zeus of Phidias were set up in such places of common resort as the Acropolis at Athens or the Altis at Olympia, they could not but influence not only the sculptural type of the deity they represented, but the aspect under which that deity was worshipped by the people. As Dio Chrysostom puts it, no one who had seen Phidias' statue at Olympia could easily conceive of Zeus under any other form. Phidias, it must be remembered, was an intimate friend of Pericles, and therefore a companion of the most cultured men and the most advanced thinkers of his time. He lived at a time when the old religious

Pre-Parthian
era.
vic 475-450.

doctrines were beginning to be criticised. But it was, as he said, the Zeus of Homer, no mere abstract conception of deity, which he tried to embody in his great statue; and the new spirit which he thus infused into the old forms had a religious influence of which it would be difficult to exaggerate the extent and the gravity.

NOTE (a).—The statement found in all handbooks that Hegias was the first master of Phidias rests on poor authority; it is simply due to an emendation by K. O. Müller, which I believe to be erroneous. All authorities agree in mentioning Ageladas as the master of Phidias; the only apparent exception is Dio Chrysostom, who, in quoting as an illustration well-known examples of master and pupil, says, "as Phidias the sculptor was the pupil of . . ." Here the MSS. have ΗΠΙΟΤ or ΙΠΠΙΟΤ, and the emendation ΗΓΙΟΤ is palaeographically irreproachable. But the objection to it is that Dio Chrysostom is here clearly referring to the accepted version, according to which we know that Ageladas was Phidias' master. Is it not far more probable that he wrote this name here, probably in the quasi-Attic form ΗΓΕΑΑΔΟΤ? The similarity of the three letters ΑΑΔ would explain the loss, and thus the MS. reading is explained without recourse to a conjecture in favour of which we have no other evidence.

NOTE (b), *The Lemnian Athena*.—Professor Furtwängler claims to have identified copies of this statue in certain extant works. If we accept his identification as certain, these works must form the basis of our study of the art of Phidias; for one of them, the Bologna head, is clearly a copy of far higher merit than any others which we possess. If, on the other hand, we either reject it or regard it as only possible, it cannot be included in the text of a handbook like this, which deals with established facts rather than with probable or improbable conjectures. But the identification in this case is of too great an import for the history of sculpture to be entirely ignored.

The works in question are a statue of a bareheaded Athena at Dresden, and a head, of similar style but far finer execution, which is at Bologna. Curiously enough, the head of the Dresden statue is made in a separate piece, and the Bologna head exactly fits the socket. The Bologna head is clearly a copy from a bronze original; the signs of this origin are not so clear in the Dresden statue. The drapery of the statue has something Phidian about its character; but we must remember that the influence of Phidias' great statues of Athena was paramount in later representations of the goddess.

The probability of the identification rests mainly on the statement that the Lemnian Athena was bareheaded. The only passage from which this is inferred is a highly rhetorical one in Himerius, who says: "Phidias did not always mould Zeus, nor always make in bronze Athena with her arms, but he let his art render other deities also, and decked the Maiden Goddess (Parthenos), pouring a blush over her cheek, that her beauty might be veiled by it instead of by a helmet." Now it is by no means certain that this passage refers to the Lemnia; the statue of Athena referred to is called "the Parthenos"; and this was the name especially applied to the gold and ivory statue that stood in the Parthenon. We know that statue had a helmet on; but to state that the statue referred to in this passage must be the Lemnia because the Lemnia was bareheaded, and at the same time to quote this passage as the only authority for the statement that the Lemnia was bareheaded, is very like arguing in a circle. But it is very doubtful whether anything at all can

be inferred from this passage except that Phidias sometimes represented Athena in her more peaceful character, in "the Parthenos," for example, as well as in her more warlike character in the colossal bronze statue. Of course "the Parthenos" was armed, but the arms were treated rather as passive attributes. In any case the inference about the Lemnia is at least an extremely doubtful one. Nor, even if the Lemnia was bareheaded, is the identification of the Bologna head and the Dresden statue beyond doubt. Representations of Athena without a helmet, both on reliefs and vases, are not rare, and they cannot all be associated with the Lemnia. Such an identification as that proposed by Professor Furtwängler, however attractive and interesting in itself, cannot be made a basis for further comparisons. Above all, it cannot be given the most prominent place in the section on Phidias in such a book as this; and it must, from its very importance, be given either the most prominent place or none at all. The Bologna head is among the most beautiful and fascinating examples of Greek sculpture that have been preserved to us, but the opinions hitherto held about its style and period vary considerably, nor can its place in the history of sculpture yet be regarded as established.

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